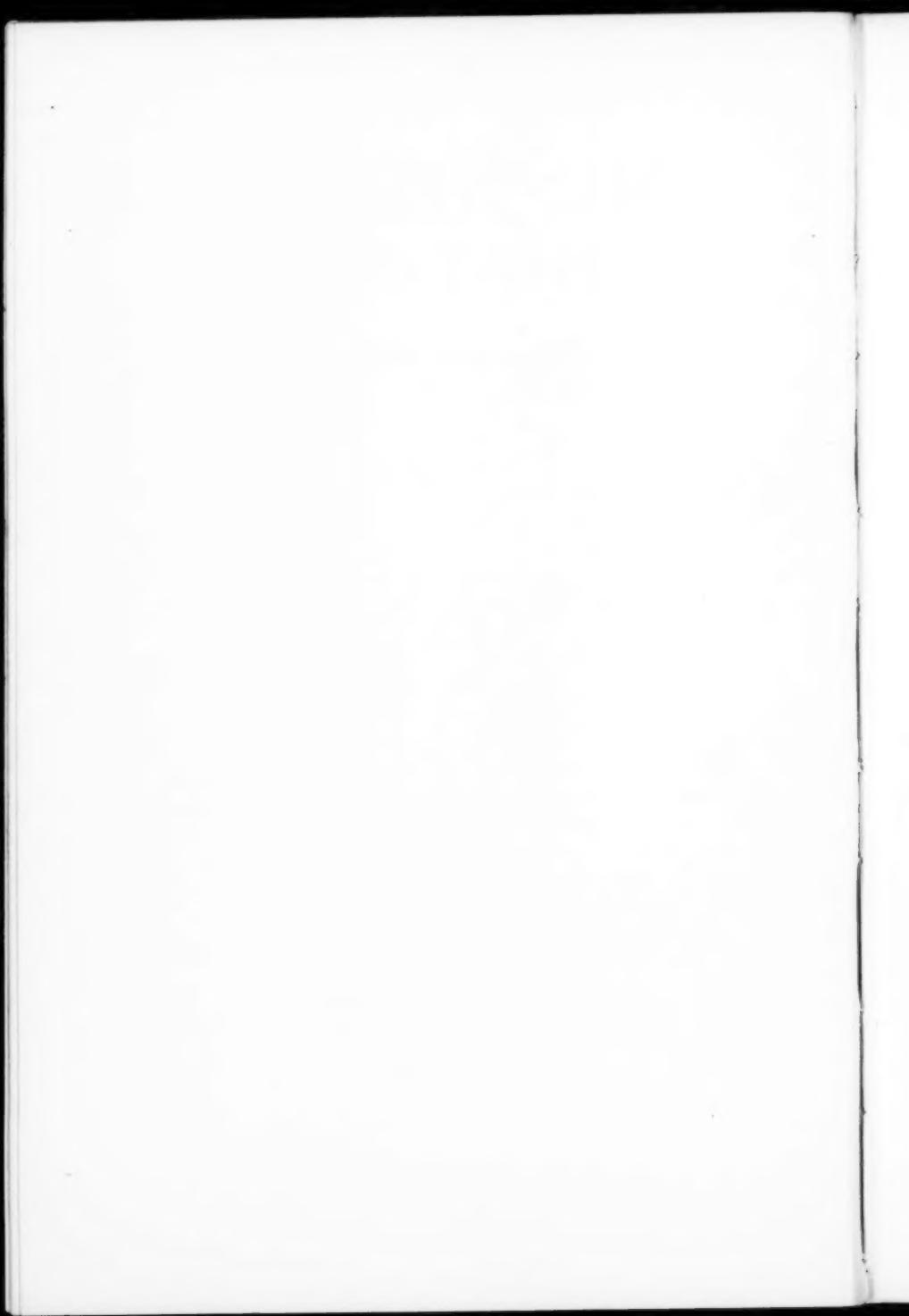


# MINNESOTA HISTORY

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## HISTORY IN THE MACHINE AGE<sup>1</sup>

Not so long ago I thought that the important questions in history centered around such problems as whether the battle of Tours should be called of Tours or of Poitiers; whether Attila, the king of the Huns, failed to make his threatened attack upon Rome because he was ill, or because he was bought off, or because he was overawed by Pope Leo; whether Rome fell in 325, 476, 768, 1453, or whether it has not fallen yet; whether Leif Ericson reached Chesapeake Bay or went only as far as the Jersey coast, or, perhaps, Rhode Island, or Cambridge, in Massachusetts, or perhaps not any farther south than Labrador; and did the Chroniclers use *concilium* and *consilium* interchangeably, or did they use them to represent quite distinct ideas? To the historian these questions are not only interesting but highly important.

From the midst of such engaging problems, I was drafted to serve on a committee to reconsider the readjustment of our school program in social science subjects to prepare our youth to meet the problems of modern society more adequately. With me on that committee were economists and educators, political scientists and sociologists, as well as some who represented primarily persons of affairs interested in the schools. That committee took as its first problems: What are these new conditions? In what direction are they moving? What kind of life are the children now in school going to face when they leave school? The attempt to answer these questions brought into sharp focus the bewildering progress of modern science and technology, the marvels which it has wrought in our own day, and the hints of even greater marvels which it promises to bring

<sup>1</sup> Presented on January 16, 1933, as the annual address of the eighty-fourth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

forth in the near future. It brought into relief, too, the economic, social, and political changes which have followed in the wake of this technological advance.

And then, against such a background of current problems and activity, came the next question of what studies we should provide to equip the pupils to cope with such a world. In answering this question almost every possible form of social science and every conceivable arrangement of those forms is being canvassed. So, too, is the question of how far back into the past this instruction shall go. Has modern technology laid down the challenge that our youths would be better equipped to adjust themselves to the marvels of the coming age if we did not fetter them with too much knowledge of the past? Then they would have no old ways to unlearn. Then they would not be crossing arterial automobile highways in an ox-cart manner, so to speak. Would it not be better if they learned little or no history at all? Historians, of course, feel rudely jolted by such questions. But they have been raised in all seriousness by well-intentioned persons and, as such, merit consideration. I am submitting to you tonight some of the reflections which those questions have raised in my mind during the past several years. Is the obliteration of knowledge of the past, in whole or in part, really the challenge of technology, or only the superficial judgment of its self-appointed spokesmen?

I have thought of these problems much in the past five or more years, but this is the first time I have been called upon to collect those thoughts. I now feel that I was beguiled in a moment of weakness to prepare a talk for this meeting. The superintendent should have given me another five years in which to organize those thoughts, in order to set them forth so that they might mean to the audience all that they mean to me. But he has assured me that you can readily supply the finished form to the ideas which I attempt to express. There is not time enough, nor is it neces-

sary before this audience, to undertake a comprehensive discussion of the cultural functions and values of history. I shall, therefore, confine myself to those aspects of the topic which may be of direct concern to the technologist. Let me, then, approach the question from three angles. First, the sentimental. Is the knowledge of the past essential to the enjoyment of life? Second, the practical. Is knowledge of the past essential to the successful conduct of affairs? And, finally, the scientific. Is knowledge of the past essential in penetrating the limitless depths of unrevealed learning?

First, the sentimental. Did you ever stroll with a child of four or five or six? If you have done so, you will have no difficulty in recalling the steady procession of questions provoked by everything in sight. What? Why? How did it happen? These questions had to be answered about each new object of interest. More likely than not you had exhausted your supply of historical fact, and, unless you are a very unusual person, your supply of fiction as well, long before the stroll was ended. You probably vowed then and there that you would take out a membership in the historical society and study its publications before you ventured on another stroll like that.

If you did not make that vow then, you did so when you entertained some friend or relative from a distant place. The accustomed neighborhood of your routine life may not plague you with riddles, but guide some stranger about it, and at once it begins to reveal its wide variety of questions—all of which you are called upon to answer. The more critical intelligence of grown-up curiosity deprives you of recourse to any reserve of fiction. You are called upon to present the facts—historical facts. And when you yourself leave your accustomed neighborhood, you find yourself bristling with similar questions, questions so insistent that you cannot refrain at times from asking a perfect stranger to supply the answers. Apparently we never outgrow the

tendency to ask those questions, nor the urge to have those questions answered—nor are we satisfied with a fanciful answer, however entertaining. We insist on the truth, and that truth about most objects of interest is history. All of us, whether harassed parents, or hosts to strangers, or visitors in other parts of the state, are grateful to the historical society for placing markers on the more significant historical sites. We are so grateful, in fact, that we want more, and, in addition, more extended information.

A recent book has brought to my attention again how universal and persistent is that human desire to ask questions about the unusual and the strange. This book is the little, but highly instructive and entertaining, work entitled *An Introduction to the History of the Teaching of the Social Sciences* by Henry Johnson of Columbia University, whom some of you will recall as vying with Sinclair Lewis for a place among the most distinguished sons of Sauk Center. Professor Johnson cites the fourth chapter of Joshua. There, you may remember, is told the story of the placing of the twelve stones at the crossing of the Jordan. Why were they placed there? Let me quote, "That this may be a sign among you, that when your children ask their fathers in time to come, 'What mean ye by these stones?' Then ye shall answer them," and there follows the allusion to the Ark of the Covenant. Joshua was not only aware of this human trait, but he deliberately made important use of it.

And it was something of that same wisdom which prompted the European statesmen of the nineteenth century to be so insistent upon teaching national history to all the children. They also erected many monuments to provoke questions which that history answered. The most recent school of psychologists would approve this wisdom of Joshua through its theory that what the individual learns affects his personality, in a sense becomes part of him. Thus persons learning the record of a common environ-

ment would, to that extent, become unified. Next to the consciousness of a common kinship, society knows no stronger bond than that of a common tradition. Devotion to a common ideal has held people together, but ideals have an unhappy way of crumbling in the face of reality. The knowledge of a common tradition is much more lasting—the deeper, the truer it is, the more firmly it will bind. Ideals arising from such a foundation have a far better chance of survival. Thus the sentimental interest in the past contributes not alone to the amenities of life but becomes at the same time a powerful cohesive force, the more essential the larger the society.

Now let us consider another aspect of the sentimental interest in the past. Not long ago, I heard the "Skipper," as the students have affectionately named the conductor on the inter-campus trolley line, congratulating an elderly passenger. When the passenger had alighted, the Skipper explained to me that the elderly gentleman had just discovered that his grandmother was the sister of Senator Stephen A. Douglas. Both the Skipper and the gentleman in question seemed happy at the discovery. They are not peculiar in that respect. Many people are interested in finding out about their ancestors. The extensive use of the genealogical records of the Minnesota Historical Society abundantly attests this interest. On the whole, the effect of this interest is good. Most of us have a considerable number of ancestors, but we tend to limit our interest to those who have done something of distinction. Finding such, it becomes a matter of concern to us to live up to their reputations as nearly as we can. Few people can afford to rest exclusively upon the reputation of their ancestors, however, for someone is quite certain to call attention to those whom we ourselves may have overlooked. The result is that genealogical interest in this country has, on the whole, had a good influence. But, whether good or bad, the impor-

tant fact for this paper is that genealogical interest does exist on a large scale and constitutes another interest in history which will persist.

Such curiosity and its satisfaction might at first glance seem limited rather strictly to matters of local concern with a history that goes back only a few generations. It requires only a little reflection to discover that this is erroneous. Only recently the University of Minnesota auditorium saw a celebration in honor of Björnson, the poet of Norwegian independence. A short while before that there was enacted in the Minneapolis auditorium a celebration commemorating Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who died at Lützen in Germany three hundred years ago. Recently there appeared a book marshaling the evidence in support of the Kensington rune stone, which purports to be the record of a Viking expedition to western Minnesota nearly six hundred years ago. For many years St. Paul was the headquarters of a society for the commemoration of the signing of Magna Charta, which happened back in England in 1215. Two years ago the legislature of this state passed an act recognizing the celebration of Leif Ericson Day in honor of his discovery of America about the year 1000. When this society held one of its peripatetic meetings at St. Cloud, I was asked to answer certain questions about the Benedictine monasteries which stand just west of that city. In answering the questions I was carried back to Bavaria eleven hundred years ago and to Monte Cassino in Italy three hundred years before that. Professor Herbert Heaton once remarked that the cadence in the speech of some of his students at the University of Minnesota was more like that of his native Yorkshire, England, than that of any other people he had heard. Had he followed up that similarity, he might, perhaps, have been carried back to the influence of a common Viking ancestry. During the past year our attention has been invited to the Minnesota maiden of twenty thousand years ago discovered

by our own archeologists and much publicized as the first American tragedy—an allusion to the fractured skull of the skeleton at the bottom of a prehistoric lake. Apparently there are no limits in time or space from which to draw the answers to questions that purely local objects of interest may raise.

How will technological development, immediate and prospective, affect this sentimental demand for knowledge of the past? We are promised increased leisure, more time to roam about the countryside. We are promised better and cheaper transportation—an assurance that we shall thus roam about. We are promised television, by means of which scenes from all parts of the world may be flashed before our eyes more frequently than has happened in the past. Each of these promises, and many more not yet so clearly stated, carry with them the prospect of raising many more questions which only history can answer and which history will be called upon to answer. How greatly this society can add to the pleasure of us all, if it will hasten its work of putting up markers on our landscape and supplying the account of incidents and events which they commemorate! Then we may look forward to something of the pleasure which the Virginian or the inhabitant of Massachusetts enjoys as he travels along his highways, where nearly every hill and crossroads carries a marker of some historic event. Hills and valleys, prairies and plains adorned with a rich carpet of historic associations ease the path of the weary traveler, lighten his way, and relieve his sense of loneliness. Perhaps we cannot hope for some time to equal Kipling's feat of adorning any ordinary hill (Pook's Hill he called the one he chose) with a record of thousands of years of history, but this society can do much to adorn the commonplace about us and thus add greatly to our happiness.

Let us turn now to the second interest, the practical. Thus far I have talked of history in a way that scarcely

enters the thoughts of the professional historian. He may, if forced to do so, recognize these demands for history and even admit that the satisfaction of these demands is a large task. But he feels that history has a much greater function to perform in the realm of public affairs. This was stated most simply and most clearly by Professor Carl Becker, whom many of you will recognize as a former member of the Minnesota Historical Society and professor of history at the University of Minnesota. In his address as president of the American Historical Association, which he delivered when that association met in our state, he described history as serving public affairs as memory serves the individual man. Imagine, if you can, how a person would carry on his affairs if his memory of the past was gone. Enough cases of partial or temporary amnesia have occurred to make this exercise no great strain on the imagination. If Professor Becker's observation is correct, then for the group history is the most practical of subjects and an indispensable adjunct of all social science and public policy. Its study must not be merely selective and sentimental, but thorough, comprehensive, and precise.

But the practical value of history has not always been thus recognized. Napoleon is said to have described history as "but a fable agreed upon." If that was his opinion, it raises some interesting reflections on why as emperor he concerned himself so much about the teachings in the schools and especially about history as a school subject. Perhaps H. G. Wells was moved by a somewhat similar, if more benign, view when he wrote his famous *Outline of History* in the hope that it would become the universal textbook and that thus the whole world society could have a knowledge of a common past. Henry Ford stated somewhat the same view in a more vigorous and American way in his famous remark that "history is bunk." Then, having made that remark, he devoted much of his energy to the history of transportation and the development of his inter-

esting and very complete museum of the subject at Dearborn, to which the historians were invited most cordially when they met at Detroit. Such testimony is rather equivocal. What two of these eminent men condemn with words, they approve in acts. And since their acts came after their words, we can only assume that each of these men really regarded history as of the utmost practical value.

But in what sense is history practical? It is true that researches by students in Biblical history resulted in the discovery of oil wells in the Near East and that the researches by Professor Bolton and his students in Mexican history led to the rediscovery of some rich silver mines. One might even add in this category the rediscovery of Grand Portage by Dr. Buck, which has opened up one of the most charming tourist goals in this state. But it is not in such immediate sense, I think, that any of us would regard history as of practical value.

A somewhat better illustration is afforded in the history of agriculture. This, curiously enough, is a relatively recent addition to the historian's interest. True, the old puritanical Roman, Cato, wrote on agriculture. So, too, did the esteemed English bishop of Lincoln in the twelfth century, and Thorold Rogers published his memorable work on the history of agricultural prices nearly a century ago. But these men were interested chiefly in agricultural administration, that is, management, political and economic, not in farming proper. Dr. Herbert Kellar, also a former member of the University of Minnesota department of history, now for many years active head of the McCormick Historical Society of Chicago, is one of the pioneers in this field. He observed that in American agriculture there was a curious recurrence of mistakes every other generation. Sons seldom repeated the mistakes of their fathers, but they almost invariably repeated the mistakes of their grandfathers. The reason for this, he believes, lies in the fact that, without any written history, American farmers passed

on their experience by word of mouth from father to son. The father was so conscious of the mistakes which he had discovered that he took particular pains to teach his son to avoid them. In so doing, he forgot to emphasize the lessons which *his* father had taught him—these he took for granted. This condition, Dr. Kellar thinks, can be corrected by a written history of agriculture which will enable the farmer of this generation to avoid not only his own father's mistakes but likewise those of his grandfather and his great-grandfather. If so, that history will be eminently practical.

An illustration of even wider scope may be drawn from the field of economics. One of the most instructive and most thoughtful books that have appeared in the past two years in the field of economics is by one of the economists on the faculty of the University of Minnesota. I refer to *Economic Stabilization in an Unbalanced World* by Professor Alvin H. Hansen. He is discussing the present economic crisis and pointing out the various factors which play a determining part in that crisis. Its peculiarly instructive character lies in its recognition of the many factors, some of them most remote from what we ordinarily consider economics, which determine the daily bread-and-butter existence of ordinary men. Leaving aside such cosmic factors as sun spots and weather cycles, and concerning ourselves only with the man-made factors, we find these in such apparently remote reaches as moral reforms and changes in styles of beauty. Why should the desire of a people to improve moral conditions through prohibition disturb economic affairs? Yet it did, both in Norway and in our own country. Why should the desire of women and men, both, to retain that youthful figure cause economic distress alike in Cuba and in Minnesota? Yet it did. Professor Hansen has emphasized the fact that economic consequences flow quite as surely from peoples' ideas of art and beauty, from their reactions to weather and climate, their concepts

of religion and society, and from their development of science and technology and methods of politics as they do from economic factors more narrowly and traditionally construed. Economics is preëminently practical in its purpose and intent, and the book of Professor Hansen deals with the most modern developments in the field of economics. Yet his work suggests that the full understanding of our practical and economic problems lies in the intricate interrelationship of the almost infinite variety of human activities. History, broadly grasped, can furnish us this detailed understanding of the interrelationship of human affairs.

Politics has long been the favorite preoccupation of history and historians. The dictum of Freeman that "history is past politics, present politics future history" is familiar to all of you. Though the past generation in this country has professed a much wider interpretation, the majority of historians in this country still cling rather closely to the political view. This may be justified, certainly extenuated, by the reflection that history, like its sister social sciences, is concerned with public rather than private affairs and that sooner or later all important public affairs are registered in the realm of politics. Perhaps it will always be so. The duty of recording the political history of the commonwealth is certainly one of the first duties of this society. People of the state and nation will always be keenly interested in the doings of those whom they select to look after public affairs. If any criticism be made, it should be that this interest is not as keen and widespread as it might be. In recent years, since the world has become so closely knit, the ordinary channels of public information have been possibly too closely concerned with affairs of the nation and relations between nations and too little with our local needs. This has distracted the attention of the public from its immediate affairs and from its state and local officials, who still do more than three-fourths of the governing which di-

rectly affects us. It becomes increasingly the duty of the historical society to offset this discrepancy, and to acquaint the people of the state with the efforts which its elected and appointed officers have made in its behalf. Few states are better served than this has been by the illustrious work of the late President Folwell in his four-volume *History of Minnesota*. Though broad in his interests, as his fourth volume shows, he was perhaps most keenly interested in the politics of this state. It is only fitting that the society should continue the excellent work which he started.

Voters seldom take into account a candidate's knowledge of history—they send men into office who have no such knowledge and they sometimes retire from office men who are unusually well equipped. Despite the voters' apparent disregard of this important qualification, it is remarkably true, both in national and state affairs, that the leadership in the legislative branches has been quite consistently by the older men. In this way the oversight of the voters has been corrected. These older men may or may not have been students of the history of their state and country when originally elected. They may not be any more able than the younger men just entering office, they may have no loftier desires and aims than those young men, but they possess the leadership because, among other reasons, they know more of the history of the problems they must consider. They know the background of their colleagues, their preferences and prejudices; they know the conditions of each constituency; they know the problems which are apt to arise and what the ramifications of those problems are. They have learned, if only through experience, considerable of the history of state and nation. It is primarily this fact which distinguishes leaders from newcomers. Doubtless there have been many mistakes repeated in the laws that have passed both Congress and the legislature, but the effect of the tendency to repose leadership in the older men has, I think, kept the number of mistakes lower than it might

otherwise have been. It is probable that we have suffered more from a lack of historical knowledge in the administration of law than we have in the making of it.

There is another way in which history affects the actual and practical conduct of affairs. It sometimes happens that public and private affairs seem to clash. I was reading recently Mrs. Emily A. Babcock's excellent translation of the history of the crusades written eight hundred years ago by William, the scholarly Archbishop of Tyre, and was struck by some of the remarks in his preface. He says:

In the present work we seem to have fallen into manifold dangers and perplexities. For, as the series of events seemed to require, we have included in this study on which we are now engaged many details about the characters, lives, and personal traits of our subjects, regardless of whether these facts were commendable or open to criticism. Possibly descendants of these monarchs, while perusing this work, may find this treatment difficult to brook and be angry with the writer beyond his deserts. They will regard him as either mendacious or jealous, both of which charges, as God lives, we have endeavored to avoid as we would a pestilence.

It is through this devotion to truth, so clearly recognized by the archbishop as the historian's duty, that many a reputation, which the passion and conflict of the day may have besmirched or neglected, is finally re-established. Thus history serves to encourage the devoted public servant, despite the misunderstandings and misrepresentations with which he is momentarily assailed.

The importance of the practical aspects of history deserves much greater space than I shall devote to it here. If in talking about public affairs I have seemed to devote myself largely to government, it is only by way of illustration. All of you can readily think of business and social affairs to which the application of history is of the utmost practical value. Enough, perhaps, has been said to indicate that, whatever the developments of technology may be, the demand for the practical aspects of history will be unimpaired.

Let us now turn to the third phase of our theme, the scientific. It may not be amiss by way of introduction to examine technology itself and the foundations upon which it rests, the sciences. What is their attitude toward the knowledge of the past?

The materials of technology are derived for the most part out of the earth. Here the chief science is geology. How does geology make its discoveries? Where may such or such minerals be found? Will earthquakes ever occur again? Will volcanoes burst forth or subside? Will changes occur in the surface of the earth, will new lands appear, old lands sink beneath the water? These questions are about the future. And how does the geologist proceed in answering them? By delving into the past. His chief concern is to find out how the lands were formed, whether by action of fire or by water or by shifting in the earth's crust, and, if by all of these, how long each force operated and how they interplayed in their operation. The more accurately he knows these remote factors, the more definitely he can gauge potential resources of the earth, whether these relate to accumulated minerals or to water supply, and the better he can forecast changes in the surface of the earth. In other words, the geologist's power to contribute further to the discoveries of the future is almost directly proportionate to the accuracy and fullness of his knowledge of the past. And upon this science depend, in large part, all the technologies which operate in chemistry and metallurgy.

Or let us turn to the most remote, the most objective, of all the sciences, astronomy. It is concerned with the study of the universe and contributes to the enrichment of nearly all other sciences, physics and geology most directly. With the aid of larger, more powerful telescopes, man is peering ever farther and farther into the apparently limitless (or perhaps limited) universe. At any rate the astronomers have pushed the limits farther and farther.

Thousands of stars, hitherto invisible and hence unknown even with the aid of the older telescopes, have been brought within the range of human knowledge. Most of the astronomer's discoveries will come in this widening and particularizing knowledge of the stars beyond the range of former instruments. And as his knowledge of these increases, he will learn more about the forces which affect the stars nearer to us. When we examine the nature of this newer knowledge of the astronomer, we are again met with the same paradox in an even more fascinating form. The farther the stars are distant from the earth, the longer it takes the light they shed to reach us. Even the older telescopes caught glimpses of stars whose light had traveled thousands of years to reach the earth. The newer telescopes are bringing into range the light of stars so many light years away that figures have ceased to have meaning. It is possible, even probable, that some of those stars whose light the astronomer now sees no longer exist. The astronomer is literally looking into the past, a past more remote than any we have ever dreamed of, and, what is more, he is actually seeing that past as it once was, though it may not now be so. Nothing could be more fantastic, and yet such seems to be the accurate truth. And what would not an astronomer give to have detailed records of the heavens a thousand years ago! But the interest in all this for us at the moment is the fact that the new discoveries in the field of astronomy promise to come from the deeper and more accurate study of the past. And from the astronomer's discoveries must come an enrichment of physics and geology and all the sciences and technologies dependent upon them.

Having considered the earth below and the stars above, let us now turn to the realm of those things which exist between the earth and the sky. Here the biologist holds sway. He at least is free from the fetish of the past, for his material is all of it mortal and perishable. The bio-

logical sciences are concerned with man and other living things as they relate, or may relate, to man. These sciences, too, have made great discoveries and promise many more. It is upon them that the technologies of agriculture, medicine, and psychology depend. Are these sciences less exact because they are concerned with forms so fleeting, so transitory, that they can be studied only in the limits of their own brief lifetimes? Is the future of the biological sciences less promising because they have no past to observe such as geology and astronomy? Perhaps so. But the biologists have sought to correct this deficiency by creating a past comparable to that of the other sciences. I refer to the theory of evolution. The development of this doctrine that the higher forms of life are developed from the lower forms, the lowest of which are not far removed from the physical elements with which the geologist and astronomer deal, has provided the biologist with a vista of time comparable to that of the more exact sciences. Thus, like the astronomer, he too can gaze into the past, except that he does it through a microscope. His discoveries, therefore, are largely bound up with the degree of accuracy with which he reads the past development of the higher from the lower life structures. It is on this hypothesis that he pursues his studies of all forms of life, confident that he is thereby making some contribution to the understanding of human life. That the biologist is thus definitely concerned with the study of the past is most clearly revealed in the eagerness with which archeologists, anthropologists, and paleontologists dog the footsteps of the geologist for occasional fragments of authentic past biology as they are revealed in skeletal, shell, bone, or fossil finds. Thus far the finds have confirmed the hypothesis of the biologists to such an extent that the geologist uses their dogma in reading his own past. And, with slight reservation, we can say of the biologist as we have of the geologist and the astronomer that the extent and value of his discoveries will

depend in large measure upon the accuracy and fullness of his knowledge of the past.

Now if science, upon which all technology depends, is seeking its discoveries in the study of the past so fully, can the student of society disregard that past? To be sure he is more limited than the biologist, for he is concerned only with the activities and relations of man to man. He cannot summon a limitless past with the help of a microscope. Yet he does possess one advantage which the biologist lacks. The subjects of his concern have kept records which both describe and reveal in growing fullness not only their acts, but the feelings which prompted the acts and also the hopes and fears, the wishes and dreams which man had, and has, for the future. But man was long in reaching the point at which he learned to keep these records. The period of recorded history is only a few thousand years, a pitifully brief span of time in the eyes of the biologist and scarcely visible against the span of astronomical time.

All of us can still recall the mingled feelings with which we first read of Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Troy, where he found the ruins of one city underlain with the ruins of still another; and, in fact, further investigations have indicated the ruins of some nine or ten cities on that same site. There was something staggering in the thought that a society could flourish, build a great city, and cease, its cities falling in ruins, the buildings crumbling, and the whole levelled by dust and overgrown with vegetation until, long afterwards, another society began to build another city on that same site, perhaps unaware that there had been a city there before. If we could only console ourselves with the thought that this happened at Troy alone! But can we? Not so long ago travelers and archeologists roaming through the thick tropical forests of Indo-China came upon traces of architectural ruins. Clearing away something of the forest and excavating, they came upon the magnificent temple of Angkor, mute evidence that in that region there

had once flourished a civilization highly developed in art and technology too. Recent archeological investigation in central Asia is disclosing there, also, evidence of great cities which flourished centuries ago in the midst of well-developed civilizations equipped with both art and technology. Nor are these archeological discoveries confined to the older continents. Excavation in Central America, aided by the airplane observations of Colonel Lindbergh, have disclosed the existence of cities of the Mayan civilization here on this continent. Each of these discoveries has revealed the fact that a society had grown up, progressed far in a knowledge of art and technology, and had finally ceased to develop; then all its proud achievements were lost and obliterated, the region in which they flourished reverting to forest or desert and the society to a state of savagery or barbarism. All these illustrations smack of the prehistoric; their story has been lost; perhaps they represent accidental, sporadic developments, even though Spengler, in his *Decline of the West*, thinks he reads therein the working of a universal law.

Such things could not occur in a continuing society? Let us turn our thoughts to the oldest continuing societies of which we know, those of the Mediterranean world, Egypt and Greece and Rome; or to the pyramids and the great temple of Karnak, marvelous achievements both, viewed by technology or art. Society has continued in those regions, it is true, but did it continue to develop that art and that technology? The best artists, writers, scientists, and philosophers of our own time still marvel at the excellence which the Greeks attained twenty-five hundred years and more ago. Did the Greeks maintain and continue that civilization? Even to this day it is possible to find shepherds herding their flocks amidst the ruins of some of the finest buildings the world has ever seen. And Rome? No society until our own day had advanced farther in technical lore than had the Rome of the Cæsars and

Augusti. Yet centuries after Cicero, Cæsar, and Virgil were gone, the inhabitants of Rome were dragging marble columns and marble slabs from the old buildings to burn for the lime they might yield. The story which the ruins of lost history mutely tell is fully confirmed by that of those civilizations whose history is known. Both continue to remind us that there seem to be limits to the progress which a society can make.

It might be rash for me or anyone else to attempt to define these limits. We who have seen our country grow continuously from the little settlements on the eastern seaboard to its present size with a growth that varied from time to time, but always moved forward, would have great difficulty in accepting the notion of limits. We who in our own lives here in the Middle West have seen the log cabin transformed into a skyscraper of concrete and steel, have seen the open fireplace yield to the automatic heating plant, have experienced the shift from candle light to the neon lights of today, and have seen new arrivals come by airplane where once they came by covered wagon or even pack train and canoe—we, I say, would have difficulty in admitting that there can be limits to progress. And yet, I think there are limits, and I must be venturesome enough to guess what they are.

The lower limit seems easy enough to fix. The difference between civilization and savagery is the learning of a single lifetime. I do not mean to imply that a savage society could by its own efforts achieve the height of civilization in a period of seventy years. On the other hand, I do mean that an intelligent child of savage parents could be taught to be an efficient member of civilized society in less than a lifetime. I also mean that a child of even most intelligent parents, members of a highly developed society, could, if reared among savages, grow up a savage. There is nothing speculative in these assertions. Such things have happened, though not frequently. The reason is simple

enough. In the period of recorded history—and by this I mean not the speculative past of the archeologist and anthropologist, but only the past few thousand years for which we have written records—man has changed but little, if at all. If he has not changed outwardly, it is little likely that there has been any more change inwardly. We are therefore safe in assuming that man was just as capable of learning at the beginning of recorded history as he is today, and, conversely, that he is just as capable of being a savage today as he was then. The lower limit, therefore, may be described as a state of savagery, and it can be attained possibly within a lifetime by even the most highly civilized society. That is the meaning of the successive cities on the sites of Troy, of Angkor, Karnak, and Chichen Itza.

Is there an upper limit, or rather is it possible to describe the upper limit to which society may progress? It seems highly ungracious in this day in which eugenists are dreaming of an age when society will consist of superindividuals, the product of as careful breeding and selection as is to be found anywhere in biology, to suggest that there are such upper limits. Perhaps they will forgive me if I confine my speculation to the next few thousand years, leaving the more distant future to their dreams. Up to that point I can find ample support from one of the biologists themselves, Professor H. S. Jennings of Johns Hopkins University. He says, if I can paraphrase him correctly, that man today is such a mixture of strains that, even if the eugenists had their way and only the most superior individuals begot offspring, the proportion of superior people two or three thousand years hence would not be appreciably larger than it is today. For that reason I think we are safe in assuming that the kind of people composing society over this period will be much the same as they are today, and as they have been through the written period of history. That being so, the upper limit of the progress of society

seems determined by the extent to which people—and nations—are willing to work together, each doing the particular service he is best equipped to do, each respecting the similar service of his neighbors, and all having regard to society in its widest sense.

This can be illustrated from the relatively simple and material field of industry. How long would it take a single individual, assuming that he knew how to do it, to manufacture a single automobile? I do not mean merely assembling the parts, but actually making them out of the raw materials. Perhaps no single individual could do it. But if he could it would probably take him a lifetime. On the other hand, note what happened when Henry Ford organized his thousands of workers, each performing only a single operation. I do not have exact figures, but I am doubtless safe in saying that the output averaged a number of cars a year for every worker in the industry, possibly even as high as one car for every worker each working day. But whatever the exact figures may be, the illustration brings out certain principles—first, the little progress made by *one* man attempting to do *all* parts of the work; and, second, the phenomenal progress made by a *thousand* men each doing *one* part of the common task.

The progress of society, however, is something much more comprehensive than making an automobile. Furthermore, the political, economic, and social systems essential to social progress are much less obvious and much more complex than such a purely material creation as an automobile. And yet the principles revealed in the case of the automobile would seem to apply here with even greater force. The upper limit of progress is determined, therefore, by the extent to which people and nations are willing to work together, each content to do a portion of the world's work adequately, and appreciating the importance of allowing others to do the same.

That is not only the upper limit of social progress—it

is also the limit of technology itself. We sometimes forget that technology is the achievement of man, his creation, the tools with which he accomplishes some of the hopes and desires which he has always felt. Without man's wish and willingness, there would be neither electric light nor radio nor telephone, neither airplane nor automobile nor railroad. Without it there would be little to call our machine age. I said, without man's wish and willingness—I omitted one, perhaps most important, condition. People are not born willing and able to work together in this fashion. That is a cultivated virtue, the outcome of education. It is only through education, either formal or acquired by the very process of living, that the individual learns to control his impulse to do as he pleases when he pleases. It is only through education that the individual learns that he can gain even greater comforts and pleasures by restraining his impulse than by yielding to it. It is only through education that he learns that by doing well only a few things and letting others do in similar fashion the few things which they do best, everyone can enjoy comforts, conveniences, pleasures, and joys such as the greatest monarchs of less favored societies could only envy. This education, then, is *an*, I might almost say *the*, essential condition for social progress.

And what is this education through which the individual learns to acquire the willingness to check his impulses, to do well a few things, so that he may enjoy the greatest measure of comfort and pleasure? Not the least part of it, certainly, is a study of the social past with its panorama of societies which did have a large measure of such willingness and ability to work together and of societies which did not, of societies which attained a high degree of civilization and of societies which reverted to savagery. The more fully he learns to understand them, the reasons for their successes and failures, the more fully will he be willing to restrain his own immediate impulses for the attainment

of the more remote, but greater, gain. The better he knows that history, the more willing he is to join in social progress, and the greater must be the technological development of his time. It is likewise true that the more widely this knowledge of history is disseminated, the more fully it is shared by the whole society, by everyone in it, the greater will be the opportunities for progress. A world society is possible only through continuous and universal education. And thus we reach, in the field of the social sciences, the same conclusion that has been reached in the other sciences. Progress in social science is proportional to the fullness and accuracy of the knowledge of the past, and social progress is dependent upon the extent to which this knowledge of the past is shared by all the people. Therein lies the basis of the willingness of society to support such progress upon which, in turn, not only technology but all the sciences depend. In this connection it is well to recall the remark of a recent writer that no branch of engineering is as hard as the engineering of human consent. And thus we come out at the end of our reflections with the paradoxical conclusion that what are generally regarded as the least scientific branches of learning are the most fundamental. That is one of the lessons which the forests over Chichen Itza and Angkor, the sands over Troy and Palmyra, and the broken columns of the Parthenon and the Coliseum tell in such tragic fashion. Such are the reflections to which the title of this paper has led. If those reflections are at all sound we may well ask what are their implications for the work of the Minnesota Historical Society?

The sentimental values of the past it is clearly the duty of the society to furnish. The past which requires our attention most is that right about us, and each year adds to the lot. We want information about all of it, and this society ought to be in a position to inform us. On the practical side, the implication is just as urgent. The more complete, the more accurate and detailed the information which

this society collects, arranges, and edits, the more useful it will be to members of the legislature and state officials, to local officials and business concerns, to churches and other social organizations. That service is pressing and insistent. We are all glad to know that the society has widened the scope of its interest and is moving farther in the direction which Professor Hansen's book so clearly indicates is essential even to the most directly practical affairs of business. And for the demands of science, the collections of material of the society, its cataloguing, calendaring, and classification, its editing, and its publications are of fundamental value. However much we may be thrilled by large and sweeping generalization about the world and all past ages, the scientific, like the practical, study of history rests, in the final analysis, upon the completeness and accuracy of the material and the fullness with which it reveals the impact of social forces upon the daily lives of the individual. For this the work of the society is basic and every effort should be made to enable its collections to meet this demand. It must be gratifying to the members of the society in reading the superintendent's annual report to note how fully the staff of the society realizes its obligations and opportunities. And it must be doubly gratifying to note what extraordinary progress has been made by the staff despite the limited resources.

Does modern technology challenge the study of the past? I do not think so. Whether we view the question from the sentimental, the practical, or the scientific approach, technology demands an increased, rather than a lessened, study of the past. In fact, the greater the progress of technology, the more widespread must be the study of history and the other humanities to support it.

To the shortsighted technocrat who is dazzled by the advance of machinery and the new age, we must reply that, if there is any shortcoming, it is that history, whether studied as such or as revealed in literature and the arts,

has not been studied either well or widely enough. It is precisely this enrichment of life and thought and purpose that our stressful times demand and which a judicious reading of the past can supply. As we look at our troubled world, we are almost overcome by the urgency and the immediacy of its pressing problems. Perhaps the chief offering that history, the mother of all the humanities, can make to this generation must lie in its very capacity to enlarge the comprehension and sympathies of the human mind and spirit. That ripe and gracious quality of learning, that maturer aspect of knowledge derived from an understanding of the implications of many diverse facts, must be more highly esteemed amongst us. A poised and disciplined judgment, centered not in the present moment alone, exigent though it be, is certainly one of the qualities that our times demand. A broad and wise diffusion of historical knowledge, coupled with a deep realization that other ages than our own have faced and made momentous decisions, whether for good or ill, must steady the thinking of us all. If the historian cannot, like the physical scientist, attempt to measure "the true movement and the calculable order of the universe," yet, amid all the confusion, he can repeat as one of the sure lessons of history that answers to our strivings are not given but must spring from the imaginative daring of high intelligence. These answers must be created—and in our own day—from a fine fusion of the humanities with science and invention in a synthesis never before attempted. If we fail, our civilization, like others in the past, must perish before its own apathies and ignorances. But the historian *must* not fail in this, his heavy, perhaps heaviest, responsibility to his own time.

In closing, let me turn again to the historical problems with which I began. At the outset they seemed so far away and long ago. After this excursion into the technological age, they no longer seem either distant in space nor remote in time. That their value for the purpose of gen-

eral culture has immeasurably increased is obvious. More startling, however, is their added importance for the practical needs of life.

If it is true that people have changed but little in the period of written history, if they have only modified the language and tools with which they seek to attain their wishes, then the problems behind those tools, the relations of man to man, group to group are still the same. And if, as Herbert Kellar discovered in the field of agriculture, people in any given generation are unable to recognize all the problems and conditions in which they work, then the whole range of written history is scarcely wide enough to yield a clear knowledge of all the problems that are at work in the infinitely more complex realm of society. It follows that the only adequate preparation society has to meet the particular problems that are apt to occupy the center of the stage is by having at all times an adequate staff of its scholars scanning every inch of the historical horizon for signs of social forces, processes, and problems; for all of them are still operating, ready to burst into prominence as circumstances may occasion. Perhaps the recurrence of the question of church and state in our election four years ago is an illustration. If such is the practical bearing of historical problems which, at the beginning of this paper, seemed so remote, no one will be more anxious than the social scientist that these problems be accurately and fully solved, for upon their solution his own deductions and inferences depend.

Thus the problems which seemed important years ago are not less but more important now. Times have changed, indeed, and with technology's advance will change still more, but the one reality emerging always clear underneath the complexities of human history is the apparent inevitability of change in the specific concerns which occupy the attention of the moment. Perhaps it was the contemplation of this fact which led William James to observe that

"Habit is the fly-wheel of society without which we should have chaos." Philosophers are accustomed to a cosmic view of human affairs. Nietzsche, in the best of all his essays, on the meaning and use of history, took a somewhat gloomy view when he concluded that only great minds could look at truth, as history reveals that truth, and yet retain hope and strength for pressing on. This thought was re-echoed with something of a smile by Santayana, poet as well as philosopher, when he reminded us "to see ourselves in the mirror of stars and infinity and laugh as we pass." This capacity is not the least of the results to be derived from long dwelling with the muse of history. High courage of both kinds our age demands, and history, wisely and widely read, can supply it to us all.

AUGUST C. KREY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS



## THE GARRARD FAMILY IN FRONTENAC<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to understand the charm of Frontenac unless one knows its history, for the little village is an expression of strong personalities. Few beauty spots in America have been so long in the possession of one or two families and remained untouched by commercialism. This little settlement is located on Lake Pepin, a widening of the Mississippi River which forms the boundary between Minnesota and Wisconsin at this point. The scenery of the upper Mississippi Valley is unsurpassed in the West. High on either side of the river rise palisades of rock or wooded slopes that suggest the banks of the Rhine. Early explorers marveled at its beauty, and the tourist of today responds to its dignity and serenity.

Israel Garrard and his brother Lewis went up the Mississippi River from Kentucky in October, 1854, on a hunting trip and camped on the present site of Frontenac. Israel was then twenty-nine years of age and his brother was four years younger. In this beautiful place they found a few settlers. Evert V. Westervelt, a man of Holland-Dutch ancestry, had recently purchased a trading post on the site from James Wells, commonly known as "Bully Wells." It was located at the foot of a hill, where a little bay affords a harbor. To the left of the trading post, facing the lake, was Westervelt's stone house, and there were many Indian camps in the vicinity. The place was

<sup>1</sup> The writing of this article was made possible by the courtesy of Mrs. George Wood Garrard, who assisted during its preparation and read the manuscript. The following residents of Frontenac contributed reminiscences and information: Mrs. John Brunner, Mrs. Louis Carlson, Mr. E. F. Huneke, Sister Mary Kostka of Villa Maria, Miss Celestine Schaller, Mr. John Schennach, Mr. Henry Strupe, and Mrs. Everett Westervelt, daughter-in-law of Evert V. Westervelt. The information regarding the ownership of land was kindly supplied by Mr. A. F. Hernlem of the Goodhue County Abstract Company.

called "Waconia," and this name appears in many transfers of property during the fifties and sixties, for it was used long after the town was platted with the name of "Westervelt."

Lewis Garrard returned to Kentucky when the hunting season was over and from there he went to Europe, where he remained for two years; but Israel stayed in Minnesota and became associated with Westervelt in the development of the town that was to be his home until his death in 1901.

Garrard was of distinguished ancestry. His father was James G. Garrard, twice governor of Kentucky, who had an estate near Covington that was known as Mount Lebanon. His mother was descended from Israel Ludlow, one of the original owners of the town site of Cincinnati. His grandfather came to Virginia from England, and it is said that the line extends back to Peter Garard, a French Huguenot who went to England in 1685. There is also a trace of Spanish inheritance. All this may have inspired Garrard to found an estate of his own and to carry forward the traditions of the family.

He arrived in Minnesota at an opportune time, as the famous "half-breed scrip" was issued in that year. With Westervelt, he proceeded at once to acquire a tract of several hundred acres, the purchases being consummated in May and June, 1857. They bought scrip that had been issued to Jane Wells, the trader's wife, and to Elizabeth Faribault, the wife of Alexander Faribault. In both transfers each man held an undivided half. The town was platted and given the name of "Westervelt." The map in the office of the Goodhue County Abstract Company bears the signatures of Garrard and Westervelt and is dated September 30, 1857. The town site contained 320 acres.

Westervelt and Garrard set aside four tracts as parks and divided the remainder of the land between themselves by mutual agreement, each taking the lots he most desired. The parks are still public park property. The streets were

named by the town-site owners, the road along the edge of the bluff being called "Garrard Avenue" and that between the village and the modern town of Frontenac on the railroad, "Waconia Avenue." Israel Garrard was a practical man, skilled in the various activities that pertain to the founding of a town in the wilderness. He was a surveyor, and the instrument with which he surveyed the town is now in the possession of Mr. E. F. Huneke of Frontenac, who uses it when necessary in various undertakings. It is of French manufacture, beautifully engraved, and bears the words "Langlois Paris aux Galleries des Louvres."

In August, 1858, Westervelt sold about half of his land to Lewis Garrard, and on October 13 of the same year Israel sold about half of his to his brother Kenner. Thus the property was divided into four parts. The four owners "by joint consent" changed the name of the town from Westervelt to Frontenac on September 13, 1859. After this transfers of real estate were frequent. Members of the Garrard family bought land in the outlying country but their association with Westervelt was limited to the town site of Frontenac. Westervelt died in 1888. Israel Garrard dealt in land through a region extending about twelve miles along the lake shore and four or five miles back into the country. The names of his brothers, Lewis and Kenner, appear in many of these transactions. A younger brother, Jeptha, went to Frontenac later. A tract designated as Garrard South Extension, platted in 1867, was owned exclusively by Israel, Lewis, and Kenner Garrard.

Lewis Hector Garrard was a doctor of medicine, but he did not practice his profession. He made a trip across the western plains and in 1850 published at Cincinnati a book entitled *Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail; or Prairie Travel and Scalp Dances*. In later years his Frontenac home was Dakota Cottage, but he lived much of the time in the neighboring town of Lake City, where he was president of the First National Bank and twice mayor of the town.

Kenner Dudley Garrard was born in 1827 and was graduated from West Point in 1851. After serving with the First Dragoons in New Mexico, he was cavalry instructor at Carlisle Barracks in Pennsylvania. During the Civil War he took command of the Second Cavalry Division of the Army of Cumberland. In 1866 he retired to private life, having received the brevet rank of major general "for faithful and gallant service." He never married.

The first pretentious house built in the village was Westervelt's residence on Garrard Avenue. He demolished an earlier stone house and used the stone in the foundation of his new home. The woodwork and interior finishings were brought from Cincinnati by steamboat. The architecture is dignified and in excellent taste, and the house, with its beautiful grounds, is unchanged at the present time. It was occupied until recently by the builder's sister, Miss Mary Westervelt.

In 1855 Israel Garrard began the erection of St. Hubert's Lodge, built after the style of the pre-Civil War southern homes. The house is battened and whitewashed, and there is an upper and lower veranda or gallery. The "coat of arms" of this residence is a stag's head with a cross between the antlers. This is still in the hall of the lodge. The region around Frontenac abounded in game, including deer, bears, and foxes, and Israel Garrard chose the insignia of St. Hubert, the patron of hunters. Many of the original furnishings remain in the house, the interior and exterior have not been changed since the death of the owner, and the grounds are maintained with care. It is as though Garrard had stepped out of his home for a day.

When Garrard had completed building St. Hubert's Lodge he stood on its balcony and looked out upon the marvelous beauty of lake and hills. Looking down the lake he saw Point au Sable, where the first fortification in this part of Minnesota was built by the French in 1727 and named Fort Beauharnois, after the governor of Canada.



*Israel Garrison*



## ST. HUBERT'S LODGE, FRONTENAC



**LAKE PEPIN, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF WESTERVELT**  
[From a map in the office of the Goodhue County Abstract Company.]

Opposite Point au Sable is Maiden Rock, Wisconsin, from which a Sioux Indian girl, denied her lover, is said to have leaped to her death. Looking up the lake he saw the point of land on which the Frontenac Inn now stands, and Point-no-point, with its shore so wonderfully curved that one never passes the point that seems so near.

To St. Hubert's, in May, 1856, Garrard brought his bride, the eldest daughter of George Wood, a distinguished New York lawyer. Their son, George Wood Garrard, succeeded his father in the Frontenac estate; a daughter, Margaret Hills, resides in Bellport, Long Island; and a third child is buried with its mother, who died at its birth in 1867. Garrard did not marry again.

The next Garrard residence to be built at Frontenac was Dakota Cottage, at the extreme northern end of Garrard Avenue. This was the home of Dr. Lewis Garrard and his mother, who, after the death of her husband, James Garrard, married Judge John McLean of the United States Supreme Court. It remained in the Garrard family until 1927. The architecture is excellent and the residence is one of distinction. The third Garrard residence was Winona Cottage, the present home of Mrs. George W. Garrard. It is a beautiful home, unchanged in either interior or exterior. The extensive grounds resemble a park and are surrounded by a low wall of native stone, laid without plaster. Splendid old pines are in the grounds, and sturdy oaks, placed in attractive groupings.

The erection of these and other buildings required a large number of workmen, many of whom were brought from the South. They were Germans, Swiss, and Scandinavians. These men bought lots in the village and built houses which are now occupied, in many instances, by their descendants. The building operations gave rise to a business center near the steamboat landing. On the end of the point was a government light house. Farther up the lake shore were a brewery, a sawmill, and a lime kiln.

When the Civil War began Israel Garrard hurried south. At Cincinnati he raised a troop of cavalry, which he equipped at his own expense and presented to the governor of Ohio. He was made colonel of his regiment, which was designated as the Seventh Ohio Volunteer Cavalry. After Stoneman's capture at Atlanta, Garrard commanded a division, and on June 21, 1865, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general by brevet. On July 4 of that year he was mustered out of the service.

On taking leave of his regiment Garrard was presented with a cavalry standard on which is embroidered the following epitome of his service: "Carter Raid, Dutton Hill, Monticello, West's Gap, Nuffington Island, Cumberland Gap, Blue Springs, Blountville, Rogersville, Morristown, Cheek's Cross Roads, Bean Station, Dandridge, Massy Creek, Fair Garden, Synthiana, Atlanta, Duck River, Nashville, Plantersville, Selma and Columbus." On the staff of the standard is an engraved metal plate, with an inscription expressing the regiment's confidence in Garrard as a leader and its respect for him as a patriot and a gentleman. This standard, a regimental guidon, his dress swords, cavalry pistols, spurs, and other war accoutrements are on the wall of the main staircase in Winona Cottage.

After his return from the Civil War, General Garrard resumed his residence in St. Hubert's Lodge and his work in the development of Frontenac as a river town. Physically he was a large and handsome man, with the manner and bearing of a soldier. During the life of Mrs. Garrard there were great gatherings at St. Hubert's Lodge at Christmas, all the workmen and their children being invited for a feast and frolic. This was not continued after her death. But General Garrard took a friendly interest in his workmen and the people of the village, and it is said that "the general always kept the flour barrels filled." If an old man wanted to work he went to the general, who always replied "Come tomorrow and bring your rake."

The old men were employed chiefly in cutting weeds on the unused streets and in raking the beach and the entire village. If the day was hot, the general, passing by, would probably give the men some tobacco and tell them to sit down a while and not work too hard. Ordinary laborers were paid a dollar a day and skilled laborers, at the current scale of wages. The men went to St. Hubert's on Sunday mornings to receive their pay.

Jephtha D. Garrard, the youngest brother, went to Frontenac to make his home after the Civil War. Like Israel he had equipped a troop of cavalry and presented it to the governor of Ohio at the outbreak of the war. This was designated as the Sixth Independent Ohio Cavalry. Jephtha was a captain in 1861, and he received the rank of brigadier general by brevet in 1863. In Frontenac he was familiarly known as "the Colonel." His home was on the knoll opposite the Episcopal church.

The hotel on the point was opened at an early date under the name of the "Lakeside Hotel." A register beginning in 1871, is still in the office of the Frontenac Inn. To this hotel Mississippi River boats brought many guests from the South, with their servants, horses, and carriages.

The building of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad in the early seventies marked an epoch in the development of the Lake Pepin region. General Garrard opposed the laying of the tracks along the lake shore. This was a turning point of his career and the fullest expression of his character. He had devoted the best years of his life, except for those spent in service in the Civil War, to Frontenac. He and his brothers had invested a fortune in land throughout the region, with a view to establishing a business center on the upper Mississippi River. He regarded the river as the natural highway between the South and the agricultural Northwest with its vast resources as yet undeveloped. But when he had to choose between a possibility of commercial success and a sacrificing

of the natural beauty of the landscape, with the radical change in the character of the town that such a sacrifice would involve, he made the choice of a southern gentleman and took the consequences. He strenuously opposed the routing of the railroad through his little village and donated the land for the present railroad right of way, stipulating certain conditions favorable to a new town to be established as a railroad station. This town, about three miles from the lake, was named "Frontenac." The streets surveyed by General Garrard are quiet today and many are grass grown, but in the other Frontenac on the railroad there are filling stations, stores, little lunch rooms, a pavement, and all that pertains to a modern town on a highway.

General Garrard loved books, and the library at St. Hubert's Lodge is still lined with his bookcases. Many distinguished guests were entertained at St. Hubert's. Joseph Jefferson stayed there and enjoyed many fishing trips in the vicinity, and officers of the United States Army always found the latchstring out. General Charles King was a frequent guest, and he wrote *From the Ranks* and *The Colonel's Daughter*, two of his most successful novels, at the lodge. The desk and silver inkstand that he used are still in the room he occupied. He made the hotel and cottages the scene of several stories.

Little groups of artists from Minneapolis were invited to stay at St. Hubert's and make sketches of the vicinity. Their appreciation of the beauties of Frontenac delighted the general, who loved the woods and an outdoor life. Among the artists thus entertained was Alexis Jean Fourrier, the landscape painter. To St. Hubert's in 1883 came Christopher Grant La Farge, son of John La Farge, and George L. Heins, who remained part of the winter. Tramping through the hills they visited the stone quarries and admired the Frontenac stone, a limestone of a rich, creamy color. Later, as the firm of Heins and La Farge, they became architects of the Cathedral of St. John the

Divine in New York City. Many specimens of stone were submitted and Frontenac stone was selected for part of the interior decoration of the cathedral.

Jeptha Garrard raised stock and owned several outlying farms, but his hobby was the making of airplanes. He conducted on a large scale experiments that were far in advance of his time. General Garrard chose the building of sailboats and iceboats as his hobby, and he himself made the working drawings for the earlier models. His favorite sailboat was the "Daisy," which carried eight or ten passengers and was equipped with a mainsail and jib. Horse racing was another recreation at Frontenac. Some of the guests from the South brought their own horses with them. The general raised horses, as he wanted to introduce into the North a particularly fine strain of Kentucky horses. At the time of his death he owned twenty-two horses. A mile track was located in what is known as Meyer's pasture, on top of the high bluff beyond the present railroad station. There were pigeon hunts in the park for the Garrards and their guests. Wild pigeons were plentiful in the country and these were caught in nets and released in the park for the hunters.

The summers were filled with activity—executive work, building, and recreation—and winter was the time for wood work. Most of the doors and wainscoting in the Garrard houses were made by hand, from rough lumber. Emmanuel Schennach, one of the wood workers, came from the Tyrol, where he was a wagon-maker. His son John, who lives in Frontenac, relates that "General Garrard wanted work done just so and didn't care how long it took."

The generosity and benevolence of General Garrard were as wide as his sympathies and interests. Although he was not a member of any church, he contributed liberally to the Episcopal and Lutheran churches in Frontenac, and he gave to the Ursuline nuns the land on which Villa Maria stands. The circumstances leading up to that gift were related by

Sister Mary Kostka. General Garrard called at the Ursuline academy in Lake City and presented the sisters with some views of Frontenac. Later he invited them to see these places. Mother Liguori accepted his invitation and took with her Sister Mary Kostka and Sister Liguori Hewitt. They visited three beautiful sites. After an interesting drive General Garrard invited the sisters to the upper veranda of St. Hubert's Lodge. In his courtly manner he said "Will you ladies do me the favor to accept anything you have seen this afternoon as your own?" The sisters did not speak for some minutes. John B. Bowman of East St. Louis, Illinois, the great benefactor of the Ursuline Sisters, had offered to purchase land and to erect a new school. They had already visited three possible sites in the vicinity of Lake City, but without further hesitation they expressed their choice of the present site of Villa Maria. The entire gift comprised about a hundred and twenty-four acres, affording beautiful and spacious grounds. The transfer was recorded in 1890. The general was always a generous friend to the school.

General Garrard was devoted to his seven dogs. Among them were two Scotch terriers and two fine greyhounds, but his favorite was Wappie, an Irish water spaniel that followed him everywhere. While Villa Maria was under construction the general went to the third floor and Wappie, as usual, followed him. One of the workmen startled the dog and he fell down through the open well of the stairway to the basement and was killed. Wappie was buried in the grounds of St. Hubert's Lodge. The general had his other dogs buried in a secluded place two miles away, but Wappie stayed near his master. An oblong slab of Frontenac stone covers the grave, bearing the words "Faithful Wappie" surrounded by sprays of leaves—the best work of a Frontenac stone cutter.

General Garrard's philosophical attitude toward life is shown in the following incident. In the fall of 1884 a cir-

cular stone coping was constructed at the end of Frontenac Point. The stone was cut in the general's quarries and he took pride in it. But the ice in the lake broke up unusually early the next spring. From his upper veranda General Garrard watched the turmoil in its wild magnificence. Great blocks of ice piled themselves on the point, and crushed his coping as though it had been made of eggshells. "Didn't that disturb you?" asked a friend. "No," replied the general, "such things will happen." The coping was replaced the next summer and this circular lookout has been enjoyed by thousands of visitors. One who knew the general recalled two characteristic sayings. He said "The honk of the wild goose is music to me," and he told that, when walking on the bluffs, he "didn't kill the little snakes and kept out of the way of the rattlers."

About ten years before his death General Garrard had his workmen construct a stone burial vault in the family plot next to the grave of his wife. This is a beautiful, circular plot at the end of the ridge on which the Frontenac cemetery is located. He also had a slab of Frontenac stone taken to the shed where the sailboats were built and cut by Casper Carsteson with a large shield on its surface—a fit covering for the body of a soldier. When it was finished, except for the lettering, the general gave directions for its setting and had it stored. The slab is similar to the one which covers the grave of his wife and infant child, except that theirs has a cross on its surface. After these preparations were completed, the general's life went on as before. He rode to Lake City every afternoon at two o'clock in his "red wagon," with Jim Sells as his driver. He retained his military bearing and his health was unimpaired until the accident which caused his death.

The end came to General Garrard on September 21, 1901. He was working in the evening and his favorite dogs were around him. One of the dogs is said to have been responsible for the tipping of the frail table at which

he was writing, thus overturning a kerosene lamp. The general extinguished the fire himself, dashing the flames from packets of valuable papers, but he was terribly burned. Although his injuries were serious, he refused to allow a telegram to be sent to his son, who was in New York. For ten days he suffered with the heroism of a soldier, attended by his faithful men. At last the doctor insisted that telegrams be sent and, although Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Garrard and Jeptha Garrard started for the West immediately, they did not arrive until after the general had passed away.

Funeral services for General Garrard were held in the little Episcopal church. He had made a request that he be buried in his uniform and that his large army flag be buried with him. The pall bearers were his employees, E. F. Huneke, John Schennach, Louis Carlson, William Patton, Casper Carsteson, and Charles Gohrke. They lowered the casket into the vault that had been prepared under General Garrard's direction, and covered him with the stone from his own quarries. Under the snow of winter and the sweet shadows of summer trees the master of St. Hubert's Lodge lies asleep. There is dignity and seclusion in his resting place. A wooded, winding road separates it from the cemetery, which consists of one avenue. On either side of this avenue, in land given by General Garrard, are many who knew and served him. Today their graves are between him and the world of people.

George Wood, son of Israel Garrard, was born in Peekskill, New York, on August 20, 1863. He was graduated from Morgan Military Academy in Chicago at the age of eighteen, went abroad, and studied a year at Tours, France. Frontenac was his home during the remainder of his life, though he traveled extensively. He took a keen interest in all that pertained to the welfare and progress of the community and his donations to charity and religious movements were liberal. During the World War he promoted the sale of Victory Liberty Loan notes and purchased these

notes himself to the amount of more than twelve thousand dollars.

His marriage in 1889 to Virginia Colden Hoffman and the establishment of their home in Winona Cottage brought into Frontenac a hospitality which differed from that of St. Hubert's Lodge, but was equally charming. Mrs. Garrard came from an old New York family. Her father, Lindley Murray Hoffman, was a member of the old Union Club, and her mother was of Quaker ancestry. The three daughters of Mr. and Mrs. George W. Garrard are Beulah Murray, Evelyn Stuart, and Catherine Wood. They were educated chiefly in Europe, where they were a year at Brighton, England, and two years in Brussels, Belgium. Beulah married Major Leonard C. Beecroft, and she now resides in London. Evelyn is the wife of Lieutenant E. Chester Beck, who was an American aviator and an instructor in aviation during the World War. Catherine married Lieutenant Frederic W. McMahon of the United States Navy. Each daughter has two children. A grandson, Garrard Beck, comes sometimes to the ancestral home and is welcomed by those who knew the Garrards of past generations. George W. Garrard died in 1927 and is buried in the family plot. Mrs. Garrard still resides in Winona Cottage.

Frontenac can never be an ordinary village. Its opportunity for becoming commonplace passed when the railroad turned inland. Today the only sidewalk is along one side of Frontenac Inn. There is not a street light in the village, nor a filling station, nor a shop of any sort—not even a place to buy a newspaper. On Garrard Avenue, from Graystone to Dakota Cottage, only one house has been built in more than forty years. To those who respond to the atmosphere of Frontenac it is a haven of rest and a place of beauty, the home of a grace and a culture with roots in the past and a flowering in our own age.

FRANCES DENSMORE

RED WING, MINNESOTA



## PIONEERS OF GERMAN LUTHERANISM IN MINNESOTA

When the United States census of 1860 was taken there were 18,400 Germans in Minnesota and they outnumbered every other immigrant nationality in the state. The Prussians were the predominating group, forming thirty-two per cent of all Germans in Minnesota; Bavarians came next, with nine per cent; and Hanoverians, third, with eight and five-tenths per cent. Granting that the term "Prussian" often might have been confused by the census-takers with "German," the figures would seem to indicate a preponderance of people from the northern, or Protestant, section of Germany in Minnesota in 1860.<sup>1</sup> Such an influx of Germans with strong Lutheran leanings naturally caused eastern Lutheran pastors to think of going among them.

Five pioneer Lutheran pastors went to Minnesota from the East with the immigration into the "Suland," that extensive domain west of the Mississippi that was opened to settlement in 1851 by the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota. A sixth, a missionary among the Indians, was the only one who was placed in his work by the definite action of a German Lutheran synodical body. The others were free lances, seeking to pick up congregations wherever an opportunity arose among the Protestant immigrants of the state. Two of these men, and the only ones to found important congregations, were themselves recent immigrant Germans. Three of the early pastors had virtually no theological training and, naturally enough, were more successful as farmers than as congregational leaders.

<sup>1</sup> William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 2: 64 n. (St. Paul, 1921). The percentages were tabulated by the writer from the manuscript population schedules of the United States census for 1860, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Following on the heels of the German immigrants were four farming preachers or preaching farmers. The first of this group was William Thomson, who went to Minnesota in April, 1855. He was born at Taneytown, Maryland, on April 29, 1812. He learned to be a housebuilder in New York; but later, having been converted, he studied theology privately under a Lutheran pastor at Canton, Ohio. He was ordained in 1845 and for ten years he served congregations in Ohio and Pennsylvania. During this time he was a member of a liberal Lutheran church body known as the East Ohio Synod, and, like other members of that body, he had "no difficulty in fraternizing with all orthodox denominations."

About April 1, 1855, with his family and some members of his Ohio congregation, Thomson boarded a steamboat at Wellsville, Ohio; and after a long and tedious river voyage, he arrived at Hastings about the middle of July. His first official duty in Minnesota was that of burying two women of his party who had died on the journey. He first settled near Cannon City in Rice County, but early in May, 1856, after exchanging his preëmption rights for an ox team, a farm wagon, a cow, a calf, and seventy-five dollars in cash, he removed to Prairieville, in the neighborhood of Owatonna. He took possession of a quarter section of land, later acquired additional land, and was still living in this vicinity in 1887.<sup>2</sup>

The census of 1860 lists Thomson as a Baptist clergyman who was born in Maryland and was forty-eight years of age, and it names his children—Joseph, Hamilton, Cornelia, Luther, Louisa, and the twins Ezra and Samuel. His personal estate is valued at \$515, no mean sum for the time; his real estate, consisting of thirty acres of improved and two hundred and ten of unimproved land, is valued at three thousand dollars; his implements at sixty-five dollars.

<sup>2</sup> William Thomson, "Reminiscence and Biography," in *History of Steele and Waseca Counties*, 143, 144, 147 (Chicago, 1887).

In addition, he owned two horses, three cows, two oxen, four other cattle, and eleven swine, worth in all about \$350; and two hundred bushels of Indian corn.<sup>3</sup>

Thomson appears to have begun his ministerial labors as soon as he was settled in Rice County. He preached for any and all orthodox denominations—Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist—admitting members to these churches and administering communion. Between 1858 and 1887 he served not less than sixteen places in Rice, Dodge, Olmsted, and Fillmore counties. These included Cannon City, East Prairieville, Faribault, Morristown, Dodge City, and Eyota. He preached frequently also in country schoolhouses. It was no easy task for him to cover this territory, since, not owning a horse, he was obliged to travel on foot. During his first year in Minnesota the Home Missionary Society of the General Synod of the Lutheran church, of which the East Ohio Synod was a part, gave him a hundred dollars and from other sources he raised about sixty dollars. He organized the first English Lutheran congregation in the state at the home of J. C. Ide at East Prairieville in June, 1855.<sup>4</sup>

Thomson was evidently lonely for fellow Lutheran pastors, for in March, 1858, he wrote to others asking them to meet at his farm home to form a Lutheran synodical body for Minnesota. They doubted that he would be willing to join a strictly orthodox Lutheran body. He expressed himself as being heartily sick of church controversies. The meeting called to form the synod was, for some unknown reason, not held at his home but at Red Wing in the "Swedish barn" of the Reverend Eric Norelius. Thomson was present, however. Owing to opposition in the Swedish camp, the synod was not formed until November, 1860, when an organization meeting was held

<sup>3</sup> Manuscript population and agricultural schedules of the Steele County census, 1860.

<sup>4</sup> Thomson, in *Steele and Waseca Counties*, 146, 147.

at St. Paul.<sup>5</sup> Thomson was one of the charter members, and in 1864 he was named a member of a committee to voice the regret of the synod at the prolonging of the Civil War. He remained a member of the Minnesota Synod until 1869, when he was released upon his own request, evidently because the body was becoming too strictly orthodox to please him.<sup>6</sup> Thomson's labors as a Lutheran pastor seem not to have borne much fruit. The net result was a small English Lutheran congregation at Eyota, which in 1891 had about twenty-seven communicant members and which is recognized as the first English Lutheran church organized northwest of Chicago.<sup>7</sup>

Another eastern parson of little training who tried to earn a living at preaching and farming was Matthew Mallinson. Land office records show that he was among the first to claim land in Mount Vernon Township, Winona County. He filed for land on October 20, 1855. At the first town meeting, on May 11, 1858, he was elected overseer of the poor. There were, apparently, only two churches in Mount Vernon, one Methodist and one Catholic. He may have preached in the Methodist church. It is known that religious services were held as early as 1858

<sup>5</sup> Thomson to Eric Norelius, March 8, May 5, 1858; William A. Passavant to Norelius, February 18, 1858; Carl F. Heyer to Norelius, March 14, April 21, 1858. Copies of the Norelius, Thomson, Heyer, and Passavant letters relating to the founding of the Minnesota Synod have been made available through the courtesy of Professor George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota. The originals are in the library of Augustana College at Rock Island, Illinois. See also Eric Norelius, *De Svenska Luterska församlingarna och Svenskarnes historia i Amerika*, 660, 840-848 (Rock Island, Illinois, 1890); *Geschichte der Minnesota Synode und ihrer einzelnen Gemeinden*, 4 (St. Louis, 1910).

<sup>6</sup> Deutschen Evangelischen-Lutherischen Synode von Minnesota und anderen Staaten, *Verhandlungen*, 1864, p. 7; 1869, p. 31 (St. Paul). There were probably no printed records of this synod before 1863. A file of these records is in the possession of the Historical Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

<sup>7</sup> G. H. Trabert, *English Lutheranism in the Northwest*, 18 (Philadelphia, 1914).

by "Elder Mallinson" at Minneiska in Wabasha County, which adjoined Mount Vernon.<sup>8</sup>

From the census of 1860 it appears that Mallinson owned a hundred and fifty acres of unimproved and ten acres of improved land, which were valued at five hundred dollars. His farming implements and machinery were worth fifty dollars. He also owned a horse, three cows, two oxen, two other cattle, and two swine, valued at two hundred dollars; and twenty-five bushels of wheat, forty of Indian corn, and twenty of oats.<sup>9</sup> The record shows that his wife and one son were born in New Jersey, and an older son in Canada. He probably married either in Canada or in New Jersey, lived for a time in Canada, and later went to New Jersey. Since his second son's name was J. Wesley, one may be permitted to infer that Mallinson had leanings toward or connections with Methodism.

If Mallinson was associated with the Methodist church, it is strange that his name should appear among the charter members of the Lutheran Minnesota Synod. He was present when that body was formed in St. Paul in 1860. In a letter to Norelius the Reverend William A. Passavant of Pittsburgh, whose interest in Minnesota missions was largely responsible for the founding of the Minnesota synod, expressed skepticism about Mallinson's joining a synodical body with a Lutheran basis.<sup>10</sup> He did join this body, however, and at the meeting of 1864 he delivered a sermon, in English, before the synod. He resided at Minneiska. Probably because he and Thomson were the only members of the synod who spoke English fluently, they were named members of a committee to protest the con-

<sup>8</sup> Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Winona County, Minnesota*, 2: 553 (Chicago, 1913); *History of Winona and Olmsted Counties*, 598 (Chicago, 1883); *History of Wabasha County*, 933 (Chicago, 1884).

<sup>9</sup> Manuscript agricultural schedule of the census for Mount Vernon, Winona County, 1860.

<sup>10</sup> *Geschichte der Minnesota Synode*, 4; Passavant to Norelius, February 18, 1858.

tinuation of the Civil War. Mallinson was also appointed an examiner for prospective candidates for the ministry. He was present at both the 1865 and 1866 meetings of the synod.<sup>11</sup> But his name does not appear in the Minnesota synodical proceedings for 1867, nor does it again appear. By this time a more strictly doctrinal group of Lutherans were working his field.

Albrecht Brandt, a Bavarian, was the third Lutheran farming preacher to establish himself in Minnesota. He arrived with a small group of Germans and settled on a farm in Hart Township, Winona County, in 1856. He brought with him "a large herd of cattle." At the time of his arrival in Minnesota Brandt was fifty-five years of age and had a numerous family. He had been a licensed lay preacher in Indiana and in Randolph County, Illinois. After the Reverend L. F. E. Krause left St. Martin's congregation at Winona in 1857, Brandt occasionally served that church. He seems to have officiated as a lay preacher for a time also at Hart, but eye trouble apparently led him to resign from that post.<sup>12</sup>

Brandt was present at the preliminary organization meeting at Red Wing in 1858, and was among the founders of the Minnesota Synod in 1860.<sup>13</sup> The next year he was in

<sup>11</sup> Minnesota Synode, *Verhandlungen*, 1864, p. 4; 1865, p. 2; 1866, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Winona and Olmsted Counties*, 607; *Tri-County Record* (Rushford), January 20, 1927; *50jähriges Jubiläum von der Evangelisch-Lutherischen St. Martins-Gemeinde zu Winona, Minnesota*, 7 (Milwaukee, 1906); *Der Lutheraner*, April 30, 1862. A file of the latter periodical, which was published at St. Louis from 1856 to 1881 as the organ of the strictly doctrinal Missouri Synod, is in the library of St. Paul Luther College and Theological Seminary at St. Paul. Some sources give the year 1855 as the date of Brandt's arrival in Minnesota. In the manuscript census of Hart Township for 1860 he is listed as a Unitarian clergyman, fifty-nine years of age. Brandt's license to preach in Franklin County, Indiana, in 1840 was found among his books and papers by the Reverend Otto C. Schultz, the present pastor at Hart, in 1927, according to a letter written to Dr. Carl Abbtmeyer on March 2, 1927. The letter is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>13</sup> *Geschichte der Minnesota Synode*, 4; Norelius, *Forsamlingarna*, 840-848.

close contact with the strictly doctrinal Missouri Synod, and to this body he applied for a pastor for the Hart Township congregation. It is curious that in the census of 1860 this man, who was known to the fundamentalist "Missourians" as "lieber Bruder," should have been listed as a Unitarian clergyman. Despite his views, Brandt was more farmer than preacher, and he eventually retired to his farm, where he lived throughout the remainder of his life. He is buried in the Brandt cemetery near Rushford.<sup>14</sup>

Of a stamp slightly different from that of the pastors whose careers have been described above was the German trained theological student, F. W. Wier, who arrived in Minnesota only three months after Thomson. Like them, however, he was interested primarily in farming; and like Brandt, he was a conservative Lutheran with crotchets of his own. He was almost the same age as Thomson, for he was born on September 1, 1812, at Tangermuende in Brandenburg. He studied theology in Berlin with a view to going to India as a missionary. Instead of doing so, however, he emigrated to America with his wife in 1841. His first charge was an Indiana congregation near Wiessburg, Dearborn County.<sup>15</sup> It was unable to support him and his family, however, and he therefore accepted a call to a non-Lutheran congregation at Rochester, New York. While there he joined the Buffalo Synod, and this strongly fundamentalist group sent him to Martinsville, New York. At Martinsville the youngest of his six children was born on November 4, 1854. Shortly after this his wife, worn out by hardship, privations, and worries, died. In 1855 Wier gave up his Martinsville congregation, an action that has been ascribed by some to certain alleged discrepancies in connection with the purchase of land for a Lutheran colony

<sup>14</sup> Clipping from *St. John's Lutheran Messenger* (Hart Township), April, 1926, in the possession of the writer; Schultz to Abbetmeyer, March 2, 1927.

<sup>15</sup> *Geschichte der Minnesota Synode*, 58, 221.

at Wollcottsville.<sup>16</sup> He next turned his eyes to the West, where so many people were seeking new starts in life. Shortly before setting out for Minnesota on June 14, 1855, he married Carolina Barbara Rosina Maertens, a widow. She had known the buffettings of ill fortune and, with her twelve-year-old daughter, hoped to find a haven with the widowed pastor in distant Minnesota. About the middle of July, 1855, Wier arrived in St. Paul with his family. At the time newcomers were camping in the streets for lack of hotel accommodations. He held his first services in an Episcopal church in St. Paul on July 22, 1855. Three days later, on July 25, a Lutheran congregation was organized and Wier was called as pastor. Later Lutheran services were held in a schoolhouse on what was then Fort Street. The congregation was incorporated on September 14, 1855, as the "Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherischen Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde, U. A. C. von St. Paul, Minnesota." While in St. Paul Wier heard of a German Lutheran settlement at Baytown in Washington County, near Stillwater. A group of Germans from Baden had arrived there as early as 1851.<sup>17</sup> On August 17, 1855, on a borrowed horse, Wier rode out from St. Paul to this settlement, and on August 19 he held services there in the house of Albert Boese. Shortly thereafter St. John's Church of Baytown was organized.

Wier and his St. Paul church are described in a report of the Reverend Ferdinand Sievers, a Missouri Synod pastor

<sup>16</sup> Dr. E. Denef, historian of the Buffalo Synod, to Abbetmeyer, February 12, 1927, a letter in the possession of the writer; "Kirchenbuch der Deutsch Evangelisch-Lutherischen St. Paulus Gemeinde in Washington County, Minnesota"; *Notwehrblatt, herausgegeben gegen Angriffe und Bestrebungen hierarchischen Geistes innerhalb der Lutherischen Kirche*, July, 1858, p. 127. The "Kirchenbuch" begun by Wier in September, 1855, is probably the oldest German Lutheran church book in Minnesota; it is still being used by the pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church at Lake Elmo. A file of the *Notwehrblatt*, which was published at Milwaukee by the Missouri Synod, is in the library of Concordia Theological Seminary at St. Louis.

<sup>17</sup> *Geschichte der Minnesota Synode*, 22, 223.

who visited St. Paul in August, 1856. Trinity Lutheran Church, as the congregation was called, was in that year still a very feeble affair, lacking in solid organization. Wier was unable to make both ends meet on his St. Paul church salary, and shortly before Sievers' arrival he purchased a farm of a hundred and sixty acres seven miles from St. Paul, where he resided with his large family. In the vicinity lived a number of Lutheran families whom he served, and he preached for the St. Paul people every other Sunday. Just how long he was connected with Trinity Lutheran Church has not been ascertained, but eventually he resigned.<sup>18</sup> He has to his credit the founding of three of the oldest existing Lutheran congregations in Minnesota—Trinity Lutheran Church in St. Paul, St. John's Lutheran Church at Baytown, and Emmanuel's Lutheran Church near Inver Grove in Dakota County. Like Thomson, Mallinson, and Brandt, Wier participated in the founding of the Minnesota Synod.<sup>19</sup>

Lebrecht Friedrich Ehregott Krause was the fifth pastor to officiate among German Lutherans in Minnesota. Though in many ways like Wier, he was not interested in farming. Krause arrived at Winona in the spring of 1856 "after a considerable period of wandering." He was a Silesian by birth and he had been imprisoned in Germany and exiled for his religious convictions. His was a superior mind. His inconsistencies may perhaps be explained by a melancholy and moody disposition caused by physical ailments. In 1838 he went to America to select land for his

<sup>18</sup> *Lutheraner*, February 24, 1857; "Kirchenbuch der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde zu St. Paul," in the possession of the pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, St. Paul. This manuscript volume contains a "Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde zu St. Paul, Minnesota," begun by C. F. Heyer in 1857. "Father" Heyer writes: "Pastor Wier war der erste lutherische Pastor in St. Paul. Er kam im Jahre 1855 vom Staat New York nach Minnesota, und hielt alle drei Wochen Gottesdienst im Courthouse. . . . Verschiedener Ursachen wegen legte Pastor Wier sein Amt in St. Paul nieder."

<sup>19</sup> *Geschichte der Minnesota Synode*, 4.

German congregation, the members of which were planning to emigrate. Krause himself preferred Australia as a place for a settlement. When the congregation reached Hamburg in 1839, half of the members decided to go to Australia, and the rest to America. Those who went to America settled in Buffalo, where Krause ministered to them for a time. He tired of this, however, returned to Germany, and left the Lutheran fold. But he soon joined the denomination again, and accepted a call to Freistatt, Wisconsin. There he came into contact with the Norwegian Lutherans and "in the presence of A. Hanson, S. Bakke, Even Hegg, and 'Kirke-forstanders i Freystat'" on October 18, 1843, Krause examined and ordained the Reverend Claus Lauritz Clausen, the first Norwegian Lutheran minister in the first Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin.<sup>20</sup> Krause got into difficulties everywhere he went—at Freistatt, at Milwaukee, at Martinsville, New York. He returned to Germany again, and in 1856 he was back in America. After leaving Martinsville, he sought admission to the orthodox Missouri Synod, but he was not received as a member. So he made his peace with the Buffalo Synod, with which he had quarreled, but did not accept a call from it. It appears then that when he went to Winona in 1856 he was either without synodical connection in a Lutheran body or was on probation.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *St. Martins-Gemeinde*, 7; Denef to Abbtmeyer, February 12, 1927; *Lutheraner*, January 4, 1853; Johan A. Bergh, *Den Norsk Lutheriske historie kirke i Amerika*, 16, 17 (Minneapolis, 1914). G. H. Gerberding, in his *Life and Letters of W. A. Passavant*, 204 (Greenville, Pennsylvania, 1905), writes: "This Mr. Clausen was a Dane. He had intended to become a foreign missionary, but the pious pastor Schreuder of Christiania had persuaded him to go and labor as a school-master among the destitute Norwegians in Muskeego. Arriving in 1843, he found them without a minister, church, sermons or sacraments. They implored him to become their pastor. This he was unwilling to do without being regularly examined and ordained. He therefore applied to the German Lutheran pastor, L. F. E. Krause, who was laboring among the Germans near Milwaukee."

<sup>21</sup> *Lutheraner*, December 7, 1852; January 4, 1853; *Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten*,

At Winona Krause organized St. Martin's Church with a small number of members. The congregation purchased a piece of property for \$130 and erected on it a little church, which was dedicated in August, 1856. After a year at Winona, Krause returned to New York. In 1861 he was recalled by the Winona congregation, however, and he remained there as its pastor until 1864, leaving it a thriving congregation. In the same year he became the *Senior Ministerii* of a short-lived church body known as the Lutheran Concordia Synod. After it broke up, Krause left Minnesota and went back to New York. Early in 1870 this much-traveled man shipped to Australia, where he served as a pastor and where, in the early eighties, he died.<sup>22</sup>

A somewhat different venture in pioneer preaching from those already described was undertaken by Ottomar Cloeter, a missionary. He did not attempt to follow German Lutheran immigration into Minnesota, but went to that region to convert the Chippewa Indians to Lutheranism. In 1856, Sievers, on behalf of the Missouri Synod, had visited the Minnesota Chippewa, and in a letter dated at the Falls of St. Anthony, August 21, 1856, he describes a two-day stage trip to Crow Wing and thence fifteen miles to the north to St. Colombo, where his party was hospitably received by the Episcopal missionary, J. Lloyd Breck. In 1857 Sievers published in the *Lutheraner* a letter in which he said that he had promised to found a Lutheran mission at Rabbit Lake and asked for a man to do this work.<sup>23</sup>

*Synodalbericht*, 1847, p. 11-13; 1851, p. 6; 1852, p. 4; *Lehre und Wehre* (St. Louis), June, 1856, p. 189. Files of the two latter publications are in the library of Concordia Theological Seminary.

<sup>22</sup> *St. Martins-Gemeinde*, 7; Denef to Abbettmeyer, February 12, 1927; *Lehre und Wehre*, 1859, p. 349; 1864, p. 130; *Zeugnisse fuer die Wahrheit, dargethan in dem vom 9 bis zum 13 Oktober des Jahres 1863 zu Winona in Staate Minnesota gehaltenen Versammlungen der Deutsch Evangelisch-Lutherischen Concordia Synode von Amerika*, 11 (La Crosse, 1863). What is probably the only existing copy of the latter publication is owned by the Reverend Theodore Rolf of New Germany.

<sup>23</sup> *Nordlichen Distrikts der Deutsch Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, Bericht*, 1856, p. 23 (St.

The Reverend Ottomar Cloeter, in response to this appeal, volunteered to go to Rabbit Lake and work among the Indians of Minnesota. With his family, he left Saginaw City, Michigan, on May 28, 1857, for Crow Wing; and after journeying by express, emigrant train, steamboat, wagon, and canoe, he arrived there on June 12. A missionary named Miessler, who had traveled with Sievers in 1856, accompanied Cloeter in order to introduce him to the Indians; and Henry Craemer, the son of a former missionary to the Chippewa in Michigan, went with the party to serve for a time as interpreter. At Fort Ripley the Lutheran missionary met Breck, who had been mistreated by the Indians and was thinking of leaving his post.<sup>24</sup>

Cloeter delayed for some time before he established his mission. He was seriously considering founding a central missionary station, with a farm and a school, from which roving bands of Indians could be visited. Life among the Chippewa was not easy. There was drunkenness and murder, especially after the natives received their annuities from the government. Grasshoppers had destroyed the crops of 1856 and 1857 and provisions were scarce and expensive. The progress of the work, its hardships, and the difficulty of learning the Chippewa tongue are described in the missionary's letters.<sup>25</sup>

Probably late in 1857 or early in 1858 Cloeter built a house north of Crow Wing and settled there with his family to begin the Chippewa Lutheran mission. The location of his station can be quite accurately determined. "About 30

Louis); *Lutheraner*, September 9, 1856; February 10, 24, March 10, 1857. A file of the *Bericht* is in the library of Concordia Theological Seminary.

<sup>24</sup> *Lutheraner*, September 22, October 6, 1857; O. Cloeter to Abbt-meyer, October 31, 1926. This letter, written by a son of the missionary, is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>25</sup> *Lutheraner*, September 22, October 6, 1857; March 23, December 25, 1858; January 11, 25, 1859; January 10, February 7, 1860; October 2, 16, November 13, 1861; October 1, 1862; October 15, November 1, 1863; July 1, 1865; November 1, 1866; August 1, 15, 1868.

miles north of Crow Wing and about 14 miles north of the present site of Brainerd," writes his son, "you will find on the west side of the Mississippi river a lake, or rather two twin lakes. They are about one mile west of the river and run parallel with the river for about 8 miles. The Indians called this strip of land Gabitaweegama, meaning parallel waters. On this strip of land father settled, and gave to this mission station the name of Gabitaweegama." Cloeter, in a letter of May 5, 1858, tells of living at "Kabitawigama," about fifteen miles from the Episcopal mission station at St. Colombo. In the same letter he mentions war parties of three hundred Chippewa going out to fight the Sioux. In another communication he gives an interesting account of a trip to the Pillager country. By 1858 his work was becoming known to other Lutheran pastors in the state. Two years later, however, Cloeter was much discouraged with his mission work; he found it all but impossible to explain the Gospel to the Indians and he complained that they persisted in their ancient modes of thought and life and in their "heathen immoralities."<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, he continued his labors at Gabitaweegama until the Sioux Outbreak in August, 1862, when life seemed no longer safe even in the Chippewa country. A friendly chief aided the missionary and his family, who fled from their home, leaving nearly everything behind. They wandered for three days in the woods before they reached Fort Ripley, eight miles south of Crow Wing.<sup>27</sup> Cloeter did not return to Gabitaweegama after the outbreak, but with Crow Wing as his headquarters he continued his mission for a time. Acting on a resolution of the Missouri Synod to carry on the Indian missions until "the Lord Himself

<sup>26</sup> Cloeter to Abbtmeyer, October 31, 1926; *Lutheraner*, October 19, December 28, 1858; January 11, 25, 1859; January 10, February 7, 1860. Heyer, writing to Norelius, on April 14, 1858, says that "there is a Rev. O. Cloeter at Crow Wing, a missionary among the Indians."

<sup>27</sup> *Lutheraner*, October 1, 1862; Cloeter to Abbtmeyer, October 31, 1926.

should stop them," Cloeter in 1867 built a log house on Moose Water Lake. The removal of the Chippewa to the Red River and to White Oak Point above Pokegama in 1867 put an end to all hope of further success, however, and in 1868 the committee on missions of the Missouri Synod regarded the work of the mission ended. Cloeter, advised to accept a call to some congregation in Minnesota, went to Afton in August, 1868. Only a few place names remain to remind one of this early Lutheran mission station. The parallel lakes are called "Mission Lakes," the creek that empties from the southern end of the lakes into the Mississippi is known as "Mission Creek," and a post office and a township bear the name "Mission."<sup>28</sup>

The efforts of the six pioneer Lutheran pastors in Minnesota seem to have resulted in the establishment of four thriving congregations. Of these three resulted from one man's labor, namely Wier's. The fourth organization, at Winona, was established by a man who was carefully trained for ministerial activity. The failure of the Indian mission cannot be attributed to lack of zeal, for the circumstances under which it was conducted were unfavorable. In general, the results of the labors in Minnesota of the Lutheran preacher-farmers—other than Wier—seem to have been negligible.

ESTHER ABBETMEYER SELKE

DICKINSON, NORTH DAKOTA

<sup>28</sup> *Lutheraner*, August 1, 15, 1868; Albert Keiser, *Lutheran Mission Work among the American Indians*, 93 (Minneapolis, 1922); Cloeter to Abbetmeyer, October 31, 1926.

## THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN 1932<sup>1</sup>

Certain fundamental purposes underlie the work of this society, giving it significance in the life of the state. These are the collection and preservation of the records of Minnesota and its people, a state-wide fostering of interest in the past, the promotion of knowledge and understanding of Minnesota's development and its part in the history of the nation, and competent service in administering the society's collections and in meeting the countless demands that here come to a focus. Why are such objectives essential to a civilized community? Because they aim at an understanding of the common life in its perspective of time and space, with the past always touching the fleeting line of the present. Important in good times, such understanding is doubly so when times are bad, for it breeds steadiness and wisdom. From Alexander Ramsey's day in 1849 to the present, through prosperity and depression, Minnesota has steadfastly supported the purposes that this society represents. This institution has been sustained by the confidence of the Minnesota people and by their belief in its value to Minnesota citizenship. The record of what the society has done in 1932 may be taken as a pledge of continued faithful service.

Two meetings, in both of which excellent attendance was matched by programs of good quality, were held during the year. The eighty-third annual meeting, in January, included a luncheon, a local history conference, and an evening session, concluding with a broad-visioned appraisal by Professor A. L. Burt of the development of American society. In mid-July the society held its eleventh annual tour

<sup>1</sup> Read on January 16, 1933, at the eighty-fourth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

and state historical convention, with sessions at Alexandria, Fergus Falls, Moorhead, and Itasca State Park. The tour reached its climax in a celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Lake Itasca by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. In a natural amphitheater on the shores of this pine-fringed lake, twenty-five hundred people viewed an elaborate centennial pageant. The regular program sessions of the tour, though less spectacular than the pageant, maintained a high level of interest. The diversity and range of the papers and talks may be indicated by noting that their subjects included the history of Douglas County, the Red River trails, homestead operations in the sixties, the Latter Day Saints in western Minnesota, pioneer society in the Red River Valley, the Minnesota lumberjack, the discovery of Lake Itasca, and the rôle of the frontier in American life. The summer pilgrimages are becoming, as a newspaper observed, "an accepted feature of the cultural life of the state." The painstaking planning and work that they involve bring ample rewards in the broadening of popular interest in Minnesota history.

Nothing can illustrate better the vitality of the society than the fact that, in a period when many institutions as a consequence of the depression have suffered devastating losses in membership, it has substantially held its own. The active membership is today 1,473, a decrease of only one in the past year. Two honorary and two corresponding members died during the year, leaving the totals for these classes respectively six and forty. The twenty-eight institutional members represent a gain of one. The number of schools and libraries that subscribe to the society's publications dropped from 196 to 192. The grand total of members and subscribers is 1,739, only eight under the figures of last year. That such a result can be reported is due to the circumstance that 94 new active members were enrolled in 1932. This notable gain was offset, however, by the deaths of 36 active members and by the dropping of

59 from the rolls for non-payment of dues. As in 1931, when 75 memberships were cancelled, many of those compelled to withdraw intend to rejoin when and if the economic situation improves. It is clear that the society has an interested and alert membership. It is equally clear that throughout Minnesota there are large numbers of people who might join the society if the matter of membership were put before them. One way of forwarding the cause of history in Minnesota is for members to coöperate in reaching these people.

Last summer the society published the first volume of a series of *Narratives and Documents*. This was a book entitled *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer*, edited by Bertha L. Heilbron, the society's assistant editor. Printed attractively, though inexpensively, and illustrated with nearly fifty of Mayer's own sketches, the book has met with an unusually friendly reception from readers and critics. It was made the subject of a radio talk in Ohio, appreciative notices in the *New York Times*, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, and the *Cincinnati Times-Star*, several articles in Minnesota newspapers, and reviews in numerous historical magazines. "Both in its editorial presentation and in its attractive external form," according to a reviewer in the *Canadian Historical Review*, "this book is a model of its kind." As a basic document of Minnesota in the days of foundation-building, it appropriately introduces the new series.

It is a satisfaction to be able to report that the society has completed a large and long-continued task by bringing out the second volume of *Minnesota in the War with Germany*, by Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel, edited by Solon J. Buck. The ten chapters of this book deal with the civilian activities and reactions of Minnesota in the World War, forming a necessary supplement to volume 1, in which the military side is presented. After a general analysis

of the ways in which the war affected the people of the state, the new volume tells of defense measures, public opinion, the Red Cross, the welfare agencies, food and conservation, the fuel problem, finance, and industry, closing with an account of the ending of the war. A comprehensive index to both volumes is included. The distribution of the new volume will be effected in 1933.

The four issues of *MINNESOTA HISTORY* which have appeared during the year contain contributions by thirty-five authors, many of them widely known historians and writers. Among the twenty formal articles are not a few that contribute to the understanding of Minnesota's social and economic history, such as Mr. Burt's notable address on "Our Dynamic Society" and studies of lumbering, of a boom town of the fifties, and of a pioneer Czech schoolmaster in the state. Improved in its appearance, the magazine is a compendium of information about the history of the state and historical activity throughout Minnesota. Numerous evidences point to widespread appreciation of its usefulness to the state. That its prestige is growing is indicated by the fact that it now receives a great variety of unsolicited material, much of it of high quality. During one week three articles were submitted and a short time later three came in a single day.

The quarterly *Check List of Minnesota Public Documents* has been issued regularly, a service of importance to libraries and state officials. Another minor publication is the monthly *Minnesota Historical News*, carrying brief articles of historical interest to the press of the state.

The publication policy of the society necessarily must be modest and economical, with emphasis upon lasting quality and utility to the state. Though it has published only ten special volumes in the last twenty years, these include works, such as the four volumes of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*, that have left deep imprints upon the consciousness of the people of the state. At any given time

the society has under way various projects, planned in the spirit suggested, looking toward future publication. Thus at present editorial work is in progress on a volume of letters and documents relating to missionary activities among the Minnesota Indians; on a series of travel narratives from the fifties and sixties; on a collection of editorials and other writings by the pioneer Minnesota editor, James Madison Goodhue; on a collection of letters written from 1858 to 1865 by the militant St. Cloud editor and anti-slavery crusader, Jane Grey Swisshelm; and on a bibliography and inventory of Minnesota newspapers. With its wealth of manuscript and printed materials to draw upon, the society has an obligation to the public to make available documentary materials that will shed light upon the forces that have gone into the making of the commonwealth. Thus it may contribute to a better understanding of Minnesota.

The year was marked by one of the most notable gifts in the history of the society, the monumental Civil War collection of the late Judge Ell Torrance of Minneapolis, presented by Mrs. Torrance and her children. The collection includes about three thousand pamphlets and two thousand bound volumes and is supplemented by a large group of manuscripts pertaining to Judge Torrance's career and by more than a hundred photographs. Since a report of this collection has already been published in the magazine, it is necessary here only to add that this gift, especially through its pamphlet material, notably enlarges the facilities of the society for furthering research in the Civil War period. The number of books added to the library in 1932, including newspaper volumes and accessioned pamphlets but exclusive of the Torrance collection, was 2,531. Of this number, gifts made up sixty-one per cent; purchased items, thirty per cent; and the exchanges from other institutions, nine per cent. The accessions bring the estimated strength of the library up to 176,160. Some interesting additions

were a first edition of Hennepin's *Descriptione de la Louisiane*, published at Paris in 1683; a German edition of Carver's *Travels*, published in 1780; a copy of Porter's *Spirit of the Times* for 1856, a magazine to which Henry H. Sibley was a contributor under the pen name of "Hal a Dacotah"; several issues of the *Northern Herald* of Little Falls for 1857; and a file of *Folkebladet*, an important Norwegian newspaper of Minneapolis, from 1887 to 1893. It may not be amiss to add that regularly the society is receiving and filing more than eleven hundred periodicals and 526 daily and weekly newspapers.

Among numerous gifts of manuscripts may be mentioned, in addition to the Torrance group, a large collection of the papers of a great river magnate, Commodore William F. Davidson; the account book of Captain William B. Dodd, one of the founders of St. Peter, and the diary of his wife; the memoirs of a pioneer Minnesota merchant; the autobiography of a Hollander who had important interests in Minnesota in the eighties; notable additions to the papers of the late James A. Tawney; and a copy of the autobiography of Judge Henry J. Grannis of Duluth. For some time the society has been conducting a quiet campaign for church records, and notable additions were made in this field in 1932, including seven volumes of the archives of the diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church in Minnesota as well as many of the printed Episcopal diocesan journals.

Newly acquired photostats of interest for the study of Radisson include those of two French manuscript narratives by the explorer for journeys made in 1682-83 and 1684, presented by Mr. Edward C. Gale, who secured them from the British Museum; and of the much discussed English narrative by Radisson of his early western "voyages" as preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, secured through the courtesy of Mr. Louis W. Hill. The year has been rich in accessions of photostats, among which may also be mentioned a very important early western newspaper,

the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis, for the period from 1808 to 1818; certain portions of the Minnesota census for 1857; and numerous documents in the archives of the Indian Office at Washington. Original manuscripts purchased include thirty-six letters written from 1921 to 1923 by the senior Charles A. Lindbergh; and a diary kept by Samuel Putnam in 1856 and 1857 in western Minnesota. Typewritten transcripts have been made of more than thirty letters in the George Johnston Papers at Sault Ste. Marie; of a diary kept by Dr. Douglas Houghton on the Schoolcraft expedition of 1832; of a considerable number of letters of missionaries among the Sioux, from originals at Boston in the archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; of about twenty German immigrant letters, through the courtesy of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; of four items in the Hamilton Fish Papers at Columbia University; and of numerous letters in the C. C. Washburn Papers at Madison. When it is added that throughout the year the society has continued to receive calendar cards for data of Minnesota and Mississippi Valley interest in the federal archives, that it has transferred a large mass of archives from the office of the Minnesota secretary of state, and that it has taken over a considerable body of St. Paul and Ramsey County archives, it will be plain that there has been no lack of vigor in the activity of the society in adding to the precious historical materials of which it is custodian.

This is not the whole story, however. The society has added during the year 431 items to its museum collection, increasing its historical, ethnological, numismatic, and archeological resources. Though many of these gifts invite comment, there is space here only to remark that some of them have forwarded the society's project of building up a collection depicting life in a typical Minnesota lumber camp. The picture collection has been increased by 2,027 items, bringing the total to 44,077, of which slightly less

than half are portraits. Among the interesting picture accessions are photographs of 31 water-color paintings by Frank B. Mayer, photostats of 129 sketches by the same artist, sixty-five views of early Minneapolis and St. Anthony struck off from the Sweet-Jacoby negatives and presented by the *Minneapolis Journal* through the courtesy of Mr. Jefferson Jones, and nineteen additions to the "Men of Minnesota" collection sponsored by Lee Brothers of Minneapolis. Mention may also be made of the society's collection of more than a thousand lantern slides, of which 110 were secured in 1932.

Steady progress has been made in classifying, cataloguing, and otherwise caring for incoming materials and the collections in general. The total number of items catalogued for the library was 3,257, an increase of eighteen per cent over last year. Not only current receipts, but also certain groups of materials held over from other years were catalogued; and some Minnesota items of the old classification system were recatalogued. The biographical index has been enlarged by 925 cards, a normal number. Perhaps the most notable development in the library was the installation of a new tier of book stacks on floor C. The considerable task of shifting and rearranging books has, in the main, been done, and the critical condition of shelf crowding has been relieved. More than a beginning has been made in cleaning and sorting the duplicate collection on floor A. Two large and important collections in the manuscript division, the Nelson and Tawney papers, have been arranged, inventoried, and catalogued. The Commodore Davidson Papers were arranged by the donor, Miss Sarah A. Davidson, and have also been inventoried. The general inventory of the society's personal collections of manuscript papers, a project that should prove of importance to historical scholarship, is nearing completion. Though handicapped by the lack of a curator of archives, the staff has nevertheless managed to do not a little work

in the cleaning and arranging of state archives. In the museum not only have incoming materials been handled, but twenty special exhibits have been set up during the year, including an extensive Washington bi-centennial display drawn from the library and manuscript division as well as from the museum. After a decade of tremendous growth the society was generally so crowded as to be almost at the bursting point when, late in the year, the department of education was transferred to its quarters in the new office building and the society moved into the space vacated, with the exception of a portion of one floor to which the offices of the Minnesota department of the American Legion have been transferred. For the manuscript, museum, library, and editorial divisions the space made available was imperatively needed.

Statistics are not always a reliable guide to the significance of the use made in a given year of the society's materials, but they may reveal important trends and suggest interesting questions. The number of library users has remained nearly constant—4,684 in 1932, some thirty more than a year ago. Why, however, has the number of users of the society's manuscripts increased from 373 in 1930 to 454 in 1931 and to 542 in 1932—an advance of thirty-one per cent in two years? Why has the number of readers of bound volumes in the newspaper collection increased from 1,239 in 1931 to 1,890 in 1932—an advance of more than fifty per cent? These increases are related to serious research, and it may be noted that scholars have come here from as far away as California, Pennsylvania, Montana, and Michigan. Why, on the other hand, did the number of museum visitors drop from 27,550 to 25,300? Perhaps the answer is that the more casual visiting has been decreased and the more serious use increased by the economic difficulties of the times. In any event, it may fairly be said that the society's resources have been utilized vigorously throughout the year.

The "Information Bureau" has sent out reports in response to 220 inquiries as compared with 261 in 1931 and 204 in 1930. The inquiries came from Minnesota, ten other states, the District of Columbia, England, and Germany, and touched such diverse subjects as the Great Lakes fisheries, German immigration to the state, the discovery of Lake Itasca, biographical information about Minnesota people, and the recent history of the state. Sixty-six inquiries were from public school teachers. It should be added that through the monthly *Minnesota Historical News* more than seventy brief stories and articles have been sent to about 350 newspapers; and that the reference librarian answers several hundred inquiries a year over the telephone, many from state offices.

It is an established policy of the society to give assistance in organizing and developing the work of county historical societies. The genuine vitality of the local history movement is attested by the fact that, notwithstanding hard times, two new county historical societies and one municipal society were formed in the state in 1932, bringing the total of local organizations to twenty-nine. It may be recalled that the movement was born just a decade ago, with the organization of the St. Louis County Historical Society.

The work of preparing and erecting historical markers along the trunk highways in coöperation with the state highway department has progressed steadily. Twenty additional inscriptions were prepared during the year, bringing the total to eighty-two, distributed in forty-nine counties. In some cases, as that of the Mayo marker at Le Sueur, community celebrations have accompanied the placing of these historical reminders. Considerable progress has been made, with the coöperation of county groups and individuals, on the work of the Minnesota Historical Survey, and records of more than 250 historical markers and monuments in the state are now on file.

An outstanding special activity of the year was the presentation of a series of radio talks on Minnesota history from the university station WLB. Six staff members cooperated in the enterprise, and the sixteen talks given were all published in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly*. One of them, by Mr. Babcock, was also published in two other places, including the *United States Daily* of Washington. The series carried the story of Minnesota to the Civil War. A second series to be given this year will take it up at that point and continue it to the present day.

Among other special activities that can only be alluded to were two exhibits at the state fair, one centering about the highway marking project, and the other depicting costumes of the sixties; fifty-five talks and papers by members of the staff, in addition to the radio series, chiefly before local clubs, but including two teachers' colleges, three high schools, several county historical societies, community celebrations at Warroad, Le Sueur, and Mankato, and a study club in St. Cloud; a trip by the curator of manuscripts to Ottawa in search of Minnesota material; service by the superintendent as chairman of the program committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association; and attendance by staff members at meetings of various professional societies, including the American Library Association and the Mississippi Valley and American Historical associations. Not a few members of the staff have contributed to the society's own magazine and to various regional and national periodicals. The head of the newspaper department has edited two groups of documents for the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* and the curator of the museum has contributed an article to the same magazine. The curator of manuscripts published a special article on Schoolcraft and, as a piece of private research, is completing a study of American foreign commerce in the first half of the nineteenth century. The superintendent edited a

book of Sibley materials that has been published by the newly established Voyageur Press of Minneapolis.

The many and varied activities that this report discloses could not be carried on successfully without an efficient and coöperative staff. With such a staff it has been a delight to guide the work of the society. The wise counsel of the president and of the members of the executive committee has also been a large factor in the achievements of the year. Two staff members have resigned, both of whom have given faithful service: Clara M. Penfield, cataloguer, because of long-continued illness; and Elizabeth Ross, catalogue typist, to devote her time to home duties; and their positions have been filled, respectively, by the appointments of Leone Ingram, a well-trained and experienced cataloguer; and Louise Hedberg, who has done considerable work for the society in the past as a special assistant.

As this report is written, the recommendations of the budget commissioner and the governor to the legislature in relation to the biennium 1933-35 are not available. The society's budget, submitted after approval by the executive committee, was drawn with an eye to the actual needs of the institution. The total, which is \$53,700 for each year of the biennium, allows for no permanent improvements but does make room for the creation of the urgently needed position of archivist at \$2,000 a year. Under the archives act a vast body of official Minnesota records has been turned over to the society, and its administration, coupled with that of the great war records collection taken over from the defunct war records commission, places a burden upon the present manuscript division which it lacks staff facilities adequately to carry. Some states, with separate archives departments, spend many thousands of dollars upon the care of their noncurrent records, and the society's request for one position in relation to this work is very modest. That it will be granted, the urgency for economy being what it is, may be doubtful, but its need is so patent

that it cannot long be delayed. Even if this modest request is granted, the budget total for the coming biennium represents a decrease of \$4,408.45 as compared with expenditures in the present biennium. The society demonstrated last summer its willingness to bear its share in needed economies when the staff accepted the governor's proposal in the matter of a payless vacation and thereby effected, for the last fiscal year, an economy for the state of \$1,098.33. It seems probable that further similar adjustments will be required. Meanwhile, the society, performing a large, varied, and important service to the people, with a modest-salaried staff that is distinctly professional in its ideals and training, is of its own accord practicing rigorous economy in its affairs, moved by the firm purpose of making its resources go as far as possible in making history serve Minnesota.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL



## THE 1933 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The thirteenth annual conference on local history work in Minnesota formed the opening session of the Minnesota Historical Society's eighty-fourth annual meeting, held on Monday, January 16, in St. Paul. With Judge Julius E. Haycraft of Fairmont, president of the Martin County Historical Society, presiding, the conference convened at 10:00 A. M. at the St. Paul Athletic Club. About fifty persons were in attendance. The discussion centered on selected planks in a program of "State-wide Historical Planning." The steady growth of the local history movement in Minnesota since the first conference was held in 1921 suggested the timeliness of this theme for the thirteenth conference, which emphasized the need of a program of historical work suitable for immediate adoption by the local historical units of the state.

Judge William E. Scott, secretary of the Lake County Historical Society, dealt with the plank relating to the state-wide survey of historic sites and markers, which is being undertaken through the Minnesota Historical Survey, with Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the state society, as director. Following an account of the organization and procedure of the survey, which has been progressing since the spring of 1930, Judge Scott examined the survey from the standpoint of the individual county. He suggested that each county prepare an historical map of the county indicating historic sites that are suitable for permanent marking. In the course of his talk he referred to the project for historic marking along the Minnesota trunk highways that is being carried on jointly by the state historical society and the highway department. Since it is

difficult to read the inscriptions on the trunk highway historic markers from a moving vehicle, he suggested changing the wording of the warning signs for these markers from "Historic site ahead" to "Stop. Historic site ahead."

Among the chief planks in the suggested state-wide program of historical activity was the establishment of county newspaper collections, which was discussed by Mr. Herman Roe, publisher of the *Northfield News*. The newspaper, he declared, in addition to being what is probably the local historian's most valuable source of information, is a kind of material particularly difficult to assemble after a lapse of time. Mr. Roe stressed the advantages of a county newspaper collection in which the files of *all* the county newspapers are preserved. Such a collection, for example, would supplement for a given county the comprehensive collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. Although approximately six hundred and fifty daily and weekly papers are published in Minnesota, limitations of space and funds restrict the number of papers that can be cared for by the state society to about four hundred and fifty. A county newspaper collection, furthermore, might relieve the amount of wear upon the state society's much used collection. The speaker suggested that two sets of county papers should be preserved, one for a permanent file and another for clipping purposes, and that the entire collection should be kept in fireproof quarters. With the warning that the wood-pulp stock upon which present-day newspapers are printed will not last a hundred years, he spoke of the necessity for rag-paper editions for permanent preservation. He exhibited samples of his own newspaper printed on both wood-pulp and rag-paper stock.

The next speaker at the conference was Professor Ernest S. Osgood of the University of Minnesota, who presented a talk on possibilities in community study. Many persons, he suggested, after studying a frontier community for a particular period, feel that their conclusions are influenced by

the commonly accepted generalizations applied to the frontier, rather than by facts "erected out of a patient and exhaustive study of the historical materials" of a local community. After touching briefly upon the value and methods of the "microscopic method" of historical investigation, as developed by Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the speaker pointed out the chief categories of material for the historian of the local community. The local historical society, Dr. Osgood concluded, can render signal assistance not only in the preservation and collection of historical materials, but in the writing of the history of the localities within its jurisdiction.

The opportunities for stimulating interest in local history through the schools formed the background for the plank on educational activities of local historical societies, which was discussed by Mr. William S. Culkin, president of the St. Louis County Historical Society. He likened an historical society to a "photographic institution" and counselled local historians not to "approach the schools with any sort of propaganda." While it is not possible to make an historian out of every child, he emphasized that an appreciation of local history can be developed among school children. Historical programs in the schools are among the most useful devices in this field, Mr. Culkin explained. For the greatest effectiveness he advised that they be given only occasionally, after careful planning. He then described a school program that had been conducted in Duluth by the St. Louis County Historical Society. "We can interest the schools in this type of work," he said, "without much trouble or expense."

The preservation and organization of county archives formed another plank in the conference program. "By learning what is in the records of the local courthouse and by convincing county officials of the importance of these records, the local historical society can render a great service to the state, to the Minnesota Historical Society, and

to the cause of historical research," asserted Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the state historical society, who discussed this subject. Activity in this field, she recalled, got under way in 1916, when the field agent of the state society began a survey of county archives. The continuation of this work, which had to stop after the archives of sixteen counties were listed, forms a highly practical activity for local historical societies, the speaker said. As evidence of the value of county archives, Dr. Nute described the records found by the society's field agent in Washington County, many of which go back to 1840, when that region was part of St. Croix County in Wisconsin Territory. Eventually, she said, we must all work for an archives statute in Minnesota that will safeguard the accumulating wealth of county and state records.

Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the state society, brought the discussion of the local history conference to a close with a brief talk on the collection and preservation of church records. "All over Minnesota are churches that have records," he said; and "our attention is almost daily being called to the importance of these church records, particularly by the increasing number of anniversary programs." Such records, he continued, constitute important sources for the social and cultural, even the economic, history of a community. After giving some concrete illustrations of how the historian can use church records, he made a few observations on points raised during the conference. For example, he stressed the importance of locating and preserving old newspaper files as well as of collecting contemporary issues. The use of films he regarded as the ultimate solution for the problem of newspapers which are printed on paper stock that will not stand the test of time. In conclusion, he urged that local historians should formulate comprehensive programs of historical work, integrating the details and parts.

A luncheon session at the St. Paul Athletic Club, which

was attended by about a hundred and twenty members and friends of the society, followed the local history conference. Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota, the society's president, presided and introduced as the first speaker on the luncheon program Dr. F. I. Herriott, professor of political science in Drake University at Des Moines, Iowa, who presented a paper entitled "Lincoln's First Nomination for the Presidency." Dr. Herriott challenged the assertion by James Truslow Adams in *The Epic of America* that Lincoln's first nomination "bewildered and shocked New York, Boston, and all points east." With an illuminating array of evidence based on years of meticulous research, the speaker proved that Lincoln, for sixteen years preceding his nomination, had an interstate reputation as a forceful speaker, first for the Whig party and then for the antislavery groups that finally were welded into the Republican party in 1856.

"Civil War Years in Shakopee" was the subject of the second paper on the luncheon program, which was presented by Mr. Julius A. Coller, II, of Shakopee. After sketching the rise of Shakopee from a log trading post on the banks of the Minnesota River in 1851 to its incorporation as a city six years later, with a population of more than eleven hundred persons, he described the depressing effects of the Civil War and the Sioux Outbreak upon the infant municipality. Vigorous quotations from contemporary Shakopee newspapers contributed to a graphic portrayal of life in the Shakopee community during the trying years of the early sixties.

Dean Ford next introduced Judge Haycraft, whose talk was entitled "A Judge Looks at History." Judge Haycraft began by pointing out that "many of the great events of history are in such a state of uncertainty that one wonders what has really happened." As an example of the contradictory conclusions that can be drawn from the records of the past, he observed that "one can prove by those

present that when Lincoln delivered his immortal address at Gettysburg it was received with tremendous applause, that it was received in silence, that it was instantly recognized as a masterpiece, or that its greatness was not appreciated until years afterward." He declared that Minnesota was fortunate in having had a Dr. Folwell, whose indefatigable labors late in life resulted in his monumental *History of Minnesota*. "It should be the duty of every historical society," he said, "whether national, state, or local, so to preserve the record of events of this generation that it may be handed down to future generations, and, what is of the greatest importance, that it shall be a truthful record of what took place."

At the conclusion of Judge Haycraft's talk, Dean Ford announced plans for the celebration by the University of Minnesota in February, 1933, of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Dr. Folwell, who was the university's first president. Dean Ford then introduced to the audience Mrs. James T. Morris of Minneapolis, a member of the society's executive council who was recently made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by the French government in recognition of her important work in assembling the names of the French soldiers who died at Yorktown.

The afternoon session convened in the auditorium of the Historical Building at 3:00 P.M., with Dean Ford presiding and about fifty persons in attendance. Mr. Everett H. Bailey presented his report as treasurer and Dr. Theodore C. Blegen then gave his annual report upon the activities and progress of the society during the previous year. The following thirty members of the society were then elected to serve as members of the executive council during the triennium 1933-36: Charles E. Adams, James D. Armstrong, Everett H. Bailey, Theodore C. Blegen, Ralph Budd, the Reverend William Busch, Homer P. Clark, William W. Cutler, Burt W. Eaton, Guy Stanton Ford, Mrs. Charles E. Furness, Edward C. Gale, Harold Harris,

Julius E. Haycraft, Thomas Hughes, Frederick G. Ingersoll, Jefferson Jones, Victor E. Lawson, William H. Lightner, James M. McConnell, George R. Martin, Dr. William J. Mayo, John F. D. Meighen, Mrs. James T. Morris, Ira C. Oehler, Victor Robertson, William E. Scott, Lester B. Shippee, Charles Stees, and Warren Upham. At a meeting of the new executive council in the superintendent's office later in the afternoon the following officers of the society were elected for the next three years: William W. Cutler, president; Mrs. Charles E. Furness and Edward C. Gale, vice presidents; Theodore C. Blegen, secretary; and Everett H. Bailey, treasurer.

After the business portion of the afternoon session Dean Ford introduced Mr. Victor G. Pickett of Minneapolis, who read a paper by his sister, Ida Pickett Bell, entitled "Family Life in Pioneer Minnesota." This consisted of extracts from a letter that he had received from Mrs. Bell, in which she recorded her impressions of five years of pioneer life in southern Minnesota. The recollections open with 1860, when, with her parents, Mrs. Bell started on a month's journey by covered wagon from Wisconsin to the village of Itasca, a little hamlet near "a handful of houses that was called Albert Lea"; and the account ends with the return of her father from the Civil War in 1865. Mrs. Bell presents an intimate picture of life in a little two-room portable home, the "best room" of which served as a schoolroom for the children of the Itasca settlement during the winter of 1860-61. She describes the terror spread by the Sioux Outbreak, which caused a temporary abandonment of her Itasca home; and her account reflects the spirited rivalry between Itasca and Albert Lea "to get the county seat."

The final session of the annual meeting, which convened at 8:00 P.M. in the auditorium of the Historical Building, was attended by about a hundred and twenty-five persons. Mr. William W. Cutler, the society's new president, pre-

sided and introduced as the speaker of the evening Dr. August C. Krey, professor of history in the University of Minnesota, who gave the annual address on the subject of "History in the Modern World." Dr. Krey presented a penetrating and impressive analysis of the relation of historical knowledge to modern technology and concluded that "the greater the progress of technology, the greater and more wide-spread must be the study of history to support it." Following the annual address, which is published in this issue of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*, an informal reception was held in the museum rooms, at which refreshments were served by members of the society's staff. Since the national election of 1860 figured prominently in a number of papers presented during the day's sessions, some early election material was displayed in a table case in the museum. In this exhibit were two original Lincoln ballots for the election of 1860, one of which was lent by Mr. Charles Stees of St. Paul, a member of the society's executive council.

DONALD E. VAN KOUGHNET

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

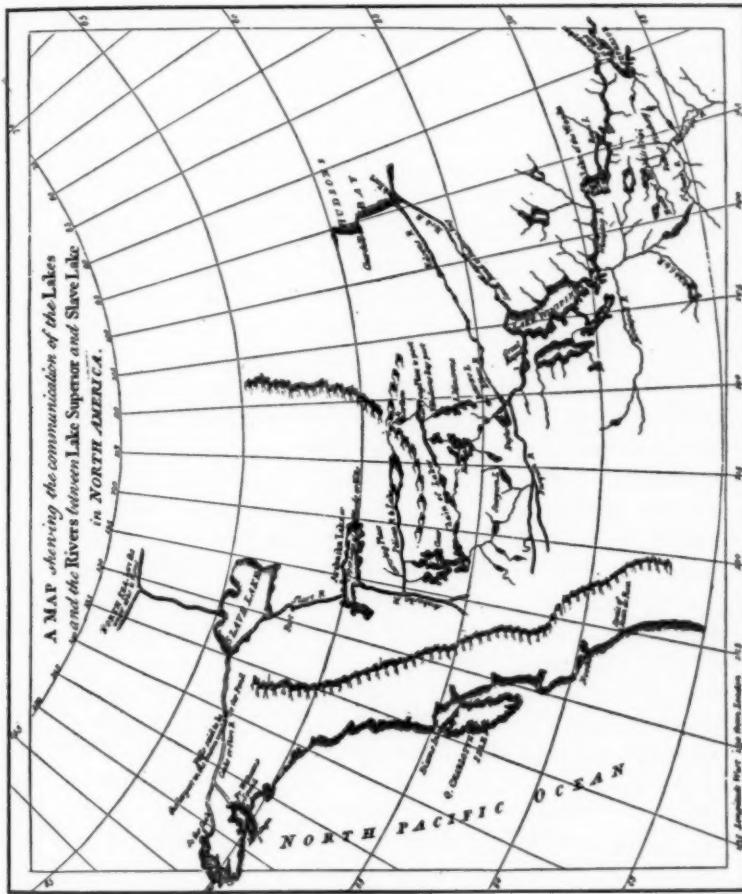
### A PETER POND MAP

At least four copies of Peter Pond's map of northwestern North America illustrating his explorations from the Minnesota Valley to Lake Athabasca in the third quarter of the eighteenth century have been known for some time. They have led to endless discussions and speculation as to what Pond's purpose was in preparing them, as to the reasons for major differences in them, and even as to the period when they were drawn. The numerous writers who have published opinions on Pond and his services in opening the Northwest appear not to have chanced on a fifth form of his map, which is published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1790. It accompanies an "Extract of a Letter from \_\_\_\_\_ of Quebec, to a Friend in London," dated November 7, 1789. The letter itself need cause no flurry. It is merely a contemporary printed form of Isaac Ogden's letter to David Ogden, the original of which is in the Colonial series of the Public Record Office in London. It is also printed in the *Report of the Canadian Archives* for 1889, from a transcript in the archives. The letter contains a description of the region as made to the writer "by a gentleman of observation and science, who has actually traversed it, and made his map in it," and with whom the writer "this week had several conversations" with the map before him. Later in the letter the name of the cartographer is given as Peter Pond. The fact that a plate of Pond's map accompanies the article in the magazine and is not found with the manuscript makes the item well worth a careful investigation. Gordon Davidson, who mentions the printed letter, does not refer to the map, though it is difficult to comprehend how he could have missed it.

The chief interest of the map lies in its representation of a river flowing *west* from Slave Lake into the Pacific Ocean and marked "Cooks or Slave R." On that stream nearly half way between the Pacific and Slave Lake is an indication of an interruption of navigation. At this point occur two legends: "Falls said to be the largest in the known world"; and "So far Pond." Beyond that point toward the west the lines indicating the river are broken, showing that the details of its course were only conjectured.

This map is evidence of Pond's influence on Alexander Mackenzie's explorations in the Northwest. Ogden's letter ends with this statement: "Another man, by the name of M'Kenzie, was left by Pond at Slave Lake, with orders to go down the river, and from thence to Unalaska, and so to Kamskatska, and thence to England, through Russia, &c. If he meets with no accident, you may have him with you the next year." We know from Mackenzie's printed account of his travels, from his manuscript journal, and from the official report of his trip that he thought, when in 1789 he started down the great river that now bears his name, that he was on the river whose mouth Captain Cook had discovered on the northwest coast of North America. We also know that he expected to find an immense waterfall in that river. There is no river flowing from Slave Lake into the Pacific and no waterfall of any unusual size in the entire region about Slave Lake. Pond could not have secured his information from Mackenzie, for the latter was still in the West when Ogden got his information from Pond. It would seem, therefore, that Pond was Mackenzie's source of information for the course that he expected to follow in 1789, and that Pond, in turn, was relying on Indian reports, especially in the matter of the waterfall.

Whether or not Pond traveled as far as this map would appear to indicate is open to question, for he would have discovered the exaggeration in the Indians' report, had he



From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1790.

really visited any waterfalls in the region. Mr. Burpee believes that the cataract that was reported to Pond was a waterfall about twenty feet in height near Fort Vermilion on Peace River. The Falls of St. Anthony appear on the map. Pond had seen these, and though they were nearly as high as those on the Peace River, he did not exaggerate their size in his report of them. Moreover, though the map seems to show that Pond claimed to have reached the falls, because of the expression, "So far Pond," beside them, yet the reference to the falls is that they were "said" to be the largest in the world. Probably the words, "by the Indians," should be inserted after "said."

Just as the *Gentleman's Magazine* of March, 1790, was going to press, Mackenzie's report of his travels must have been reaching England to prove that Pond had been misinformed and that the only river running out of Slave Lake was the stream that is now known as Mackenzie River. This the discoverer himself called "River Disappointment," because he had been disillusioned as to Pond's theory that it would prove the long-sought Northwest Passage, a highway to China for the lucrative furs of the Northwest Company in the newly opened Athabaska country. Pond thus missed fame in his lifetime, but he should not be denied recognition of the fact that it was he who thought out and planned what Mackenzie accomplished.

G. L. N.

#### THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY'S POST AT THE GREAT OASIS

Though fire destroyed the American Fur Company's post at the Great Oasis a century ago, and the debris has been exposed to the elements for the past hundred years, there remains today sufficient evidence to mark the exact site of the trading post. The post, which was in charge of Joseph Laframboise, was abandoned by the company in the fall of 1837 and was burned by Indians in 1838.

It was not situated in the woods that properly form the Oasis, or Bear lakes timber, as it is now locally known, but close by to the east, overlooking Tibbetts Lake. Between the sandy beach of the lake and the stockade that surrounded the post ran the old Indian trail that is today marked by a public highway. Since all the lakes that once surrounded that beautiful wooded isthmus, the Great Oasis, are now drained, the visitor to the site of the post can only imagine the beauty of the setting.

The post at the Great Oasis stood in the northeast quarter of section ten, Lowville Township, Murray County, near the south boundary of the quarter, and midway between the east and west lines. There, on soil that has been cultivated for forty years, the writer found in October, 1932, the little that remains of the most southwesterly fur-trading post in Minnesota. Pieces of dark yellow clay, hard as cement, that were used to close the chinks between the logs, there are in abundance. Fire-scorched stones and pieces of catlinite from the pipestone quarries strew the ground. Careful scrutiny reveals an occasional lump of soft hair plaster, bits of fire-clouded glass, and even fragments of charred wood. Large stones that might have been used in building the foundation and fireplace, if such were used, would have been removed years ago when the land was first cultivated.

Trade goods and furs were transported between this post and Mendota overland and by canoes. Traders used a tiny stream, not shown on maps published by the Minnesota Geological Survey, and dry during dry seasons, which connected Tibbetts Lake with the headwaters of the Des Moines River. With the exception of one portage, that between the Des Moines and a fork of the Watonwan River, the canoe route to Mendota was uninterrupted.

The land on which the trading post was built was taken up by John and Bartlett Low in 1866 and has since been in the possession of the Low family. John Low, a teamster

with the Crow Creek agency relief expedition in 1863, observed the beauty of the Oasis when passing in a wagon train. Later he returned with his brother, Bartlett, to take possession of the land. When the brothers settled there, some of the logs that formed the stockade about the fur post were still standing.

R. J. FORREST

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

MINNESOTA STORIES IN THE "FIRESIDE  
HENTY SERIES"

An interesting problem arose recently when Mr. G. Hubert Smith of Minneapolis presented the Minnesota Historical Society with an anonymous collection of stories about Minnesota Indians entitled *Forest and Frontiers, or, Adventures among the Indians*. The title was not listed in the society's catalogue, but the stories looked familiar. Had this collection of stories been published also under a different title? Who was the author? The title page gives no clue to the origin of the tales, and the preface is merely signed "The Author. St. Paul, Minn., 1884." Although the words "profusely illustrated" appear on the title-page and a list of eight illustrations follows the table of contents, there is but one included—the frontispiece. Obviously the book is a reprint of some other work. The cover reveals that it was published as one of the *Fireside Henty Series*.

As the writer looked over the table of contents, she felt confident that she had read these same tales in some other book in the society's library. "Mis-se-jar-ga; or, the Angel Guide." "Minnetooka; an Indian Legend." "Wenona; Maiden Rock." "An-pe-tu-sa-pa; Legend of St. Anthony Falls." Surely she had seen these stories before. "Old Bets"! There could be no doubt about that one. She recalled that Thomas M. Newson in his *Pen Pictures of Saint Paul*, published in 1886, told a story about this old

Indian woman, and there she found the tale related in the same way, though somewhat condensed. Better still, Newson reveals that he reproduced the story from an earlier work that he published under the title, *Thrilling Scenes among the Indians; With a Graphic Description of Custer's Last Fight with Sitting Bull*. A comparison showed that here page by page are the same stories as appear in *Forest and Frontiers*.

The Minnesota Historical Society has two issues of the book under its original title, the first published in 1884 and the second in 1888. Both were published by Belford, Clarke and Company, but printed by Donohue and Henneberry, Printers and Binders, Chicago. The publisher of the anonymous book is M. A. Donohue and Company of Chicago. The first issue of *Thrilling Scenes among the Indians* contains the illustrations that are listed after the table of contents. The second issue and *Forest and Frontiers* are alike in omitting the illustrations, but the same plates are used and the list of illustrations remains.

A number of the stories in these volumes were published by Newson three years earlier than *Thrilling Scenes among the Indians* in two booklets entitled *Indian Legends of Minnesota Lakes*. These were issued in a series called the *Tourist Library*. The Minnesota Historical Society has the first two numbers, which were published at Minneapolis in 1881.

LOIS M. FAWCETT

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities.* A Report by the COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ON THE PLANNING OF RESEARCH. (New York, Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1932. ix, 146 p.)

This is a disappointing work. It could hardly have been expected to prove otherwise. One man possessing great experience and vision—such a man as Dr. J. Franklin Jameson—might, after much inquiry and obtaining much advice, produce a wise and stimulating report on historical scholarship in this country. A committee of two or three men might do so. But when the subject is parcelled out to five “conferences” of eight or ten scholars each, and their ideas and conclusions are then mulled over, pulled apart, and re-worked by another committee of seven (who incidently confer with a dozen more), the result is pretty sure to be a hodgepodge. In this particular hodgepodge there are naturally a number of facts and proposals of value. Like our historical scholarship, it is fairly strong on details. But it offers no clear vision of the problem as a whole, it presents no searching analysis of any considerable part of it, and its conclusions are numerous, petty, and confusing rather than few, wise, and luminous.

If the primary reason for its weakness lies in the fact that it is the work of six committees and sixty minds, the secondary reason is almost equally important. It views historical scholarship almost entirely from the point of view of research. Perhaps that is why the term “historical scholarship” is used instead of the term “historical writing.” But scholarship, in this connection, ought to include interpretation and writing, and include them on a footing of complete equality with research. A careful reading of this brochure reveals that most of the men who produced it were thinking of scholarship as the ferreting-out and piling-up of facts. They were intent upon finding means of making it easier to get at facts; means of encouraging libraries and museums to accumulate facts; means of training graduate students to catalogue facts; and the opening up of new fields of facts. The report is primarily a treatise upon the better

organization and support of research in America, and much of it assumes that research is the be-all and end-all of scholarship. Actually, of course, it is but the lesser half of true scholarship. If the book had embodied a much larger conception of the problem, it might have been many times as useful.

Written by a multiplicity of scholars—all university scholars, by the way; not a breath of air was let in from outside the academic walks—and with research as its unifying idea, the report keeps close to the bookstack and the seminar table. As we have said, in detail many of its suggestions are excellent. There are proposals for annual conferences of research specialists in various fields; for the systematic training of archivists; for the systematic collection of motion picture films of historical interest; for the establishment of a fund to publish brief monographs; for the preparation of finding lists of European materials in American libraries; for a fund to enable medieval scholars to procure reproductions of documentary and other materials for research; for the better training of museum directors and the creation of a more adequate museum science; for the building up of source collections for research in American social, economic, and intellectual history; for the possible creation in Rome of a school to train students in archeology and medieval and Renaissance research; and even for helping scholars in ill-trodden fields to obtain the recondite linguistic equipment that is necessary. Shafts of light are shot casually into all sorts of little nooks and crannies. The reader of the report will find on one page something about the need for a good checklist of medieval cartularies; on another a call for more study of the art of conducting seminars; and on a third a question about the cultural contributions of immigrant groups in the Middle West, and their investigation.

All this from one point of view is extremely valuable, stimulating, and encouraging; from another point of view it is a valley of dry bones. The primary need of American historical scholarship is not more check lists of medieval cartularies, or anything of the kind. There are overtones and undertones in the report—implications between the lines—which suggest that the authors of it sometimes thought so themselves. That is, there are hints here and there of an uneasy feeling that something is seriously wrong with our historical scholarship and that more apparatus will not cure it. We have an unequalled horde of historical students—all turning out mono-

graphs. As the report says in one of its few epigrammatic sentences, the result of our system is that "the *doctorandi* publish books, while the professors publish articles." We have graduate schools that make the library shelves groan with dissertations; but for all their scholarship our graduate schools seldom turn out a great teacher, and almost never a really good writer. A century ago or a little less historical scholarship bulked large in American culture. Every educated man and woman in the country knew something of the work of Prescott, Bancroft, Motley, Parkman. Today historical scholarship has no significance even to most of the best-educated, and it is an eloquent fact that the historians who have a wide following—men like James Truslow Adams, Claude G. Bowers, Francis Hackett—have had little to do with universities and nothing to do with typical university research. Our scholarship is fertile in minute productions, but it is almost barren in ideas. When a man who is capable of supplying enlightening new interpretations happens along, like the late Frederick J. Turner, he looms up like a giant; and the rare seminar that opens up a new realm of ideas, like Carlton J. H. Hayes's seminar in nationalism, quickly becomes famous.

A multitude of minor defects and shortcomings in our historical scholarship are pointed out in this report and remedies suggested; its really fundamental inadequacies, the maladies that sap its soul, are scarcely suggested. The report has been accepted by the American Historical Association, and it deserved acceptance. But it should be supplemented. The association might do well to appoint a new committee—made up say of Mr. Michael I. Rostovtzeff for ancient history, Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor for medieval history, Mr. Carl Becker for modern European history, and Mr. James Truslow Adams for American history, all of whom know scholarship in the broader sense and the spirit that must animate it—to present a report that would get at the heart of present-day needs.

ALLAN NEVINS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
NEW YORK CITY

*Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, *Publications*, no. 401). By CHARLES O. PAULLIN. Edited by JOHN K. WRIGHT. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington and the American Geographical Society of New York, 1932. xv, 162 p. Maps. \$15.00.)

The purpose of this work, "to illustrate cartographically . . . essential facts of geography and of history that condition and explain the development of the United States," has been admirably fulfilled. The work is based upon a plan formulated by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson and is the result of the coöperative labors of a number of scholars over a period of twenty years. The volume is divided into two parts, the first part comprising the text, and the second, the maps. The text gives references to the sources of information upon which the maps are based and the necessary explanation for a proper understanding of the maps, without, however, attempting to interpret them.

The first series of maps, illustrating the natural environment of the United States—its position, topography, climate, soils, vegetation, and mineral wealth—is followed by a number of reproductions of old maps showing the growth of geographical knowledge of the continent. A section devoted to Indian relations gives locations of battles between Indians and whites, Christian missions to Indians, Indian lands ceded to the government, Indian reservations, and the areas occupied by Indian tribes and linguistic stocks about 1650. The significance of land in the development of American civilization is illustrated by numerous maps covering such subjects as the evolution of boundaries, Indian land cessions, and the disposition of the public domain. The progress of settlement, the rise of urban centers, and changes in the composition of the population are covered by sections on "Settlement, Population, and Towns, 1650-1790," "States, Territories, and Cities, 1790-1930," and "Population, 1790-1930." Plates devoted to politics and reforms "set forth the shifting alignments of political sentiment in different sections and show where local interests have often diverged from the prevailing sectional interests," and a number dealing with industries and transportation, foreign commerce, and the distribution of wealth, as well as some of the maps included in the series on "Lands," illustrate important

aspects of the economic history of the nation. There are also sections on "Colleges, Universities, and Churches, 1775-1890," "Military History, 1689-1918," and "Possessions and Territorial Claims of the United States."

That the *Atlas* does not include a wide variety of topics that might well have been illustrated cartographically had unlimited space been available is recognized by the editors in their introduction. The volume will be a valuable aid to historians, teachers, and students as a reference work and as a basis for original research; it should be of equal value in pointing the way to further research in subjects that it does not cover.

M. W.

*The Invasion: A Narrative of Events Concerning the Johnston Family of St. Mary's.* By JANET LEWIS. (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932. 356 p. \$2.50.)

This is neither a novel nor a history. Though leaning much farther toward the latter category than toward the former, it still introduces imaginative conversation and descriptive passages, which exclude it at once from the realm of pure history. Briefly, it tells the story of the region from La Pointe to Mackinac from the last decade of the eighteenth century to 1850 or thereabout, with some further matter on the Johnston family as late as 1928. The personalities of this family are made the thread on which to string the events of the region for over half a century. So cleverly has the author associated every event with a member of this family that it is seldom the reader wonders why an anecdote or a figure has been introduced. And it must be conceded that it takes ingenuity to convince one that even such an important unit as the Johnston family was connected in one way or another with *all* the explorers, traders, Indians, and scientists that touch Lake Superior's history from 1790 to 1850. The figure of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft helps materially to maintain the air of plausibility, for as Indian agent he came into the thick of things just as the first dominating character of the book, his father-in-law, John Johnston, the Irish gentleman trader, was leaving the scene.

Had the author so wished, she could have made much of a member of the Johnston family whom she seldom mentions. This is

George Johnston, the second son of John and the White Fisher's daughter. He was sub-agent at La Pointe, an explorer of acumen, one of the party for running the Sioux-Chippewa boundary line in 1835, and a man of education and refinement. His papers have survived and are well worth recognition by this author. Still another son was William, whose letters as an independent trader from Leech Lake and vicinity in 1833 surely warrant his inclusion in the family circle as portrayed by the author. These letters not only reveal William's interesting personality, but by inference also indicate to some degree the character of the sister to whom they were written. Perhaps the author did not want her canvas to become too large; George and William would have extended it westward to Leech Lake and south to Fort Snelling, necessitating a portrait of the fiery but honest Taliaferro. Another character whom one misses is Ramsay Crooks, long a resident of Mackinac and later president of the American Fur Company. His frequent visits to Lake Superior certainly must have meant an acquaintance with John Johnston. But, here again, the author may have realized that she had too many characters in her picture as it was, and even the powerful Crooks had to be sacrificed to unity and simplicity.

The story begins to lose interest with the death of Johnston's wife and the removal of the Schoolcrafts to the East. Degeneration is never pleasant to watch, and none of John Johnston's grandchildren seem to have risen above the commonplace. Descriptions of the odd character of John Tanner and the mysterious murder of James Schoolcraft, Anna Maria Johnston's husband, maintain the tempo of the book into the middle forties. The reviewer would like further information about Lieutenant Tilden's deathbed confession of the murder. Tanner has borne the blame these many years in most readers' minds, and it is high time his innocence was proclaimed, if sufficient evidence is at hand.

The reviewer found the last fifty pages much inferior not only in content but also in treatment to the preceding three hundred. In fact, a genealogical table is needed to keep the relationship of the several descendants clear. Just the briefest narrative of the third and fourth generations would have been preferable, enough to have brought the family history up to date. Another title also might have been preferable. The author does not succeed in convincing the reader that her theme is the invasion of the Indians' country by

the whites. Rather, the reader feels that the book is a well-written and historically accurate narrative of a superlatively interesting family.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

*The Origin and History of Swedish Religious Organizations in Minnesota, 1853-1885.* By JOHN OLSON ANDERS, PH.D., professor of history, Bethany College. (Rock Island, Illinois, Augustana Book Concern, 1932. 101 p. Maps.)

In this book, an abbreviated version of a doctor's dissertation presented at the University of Minnesota, Dr. Anders has endeavored to trace the history of religious organizations among the Swedish immigrants in Minnesota from 1853 to 1885. The author has realized the necessity also of briefly discussing the history of these groups beyond the boundaries of the state in order to give the proper background to the currents in Minnesota. A great deal of research has been done in gathering the data presented, and hours of valuable time have been spent in organizing the material for use in this work. Mr. Anders shows soundness of judgment; his interpretation is keen, though at times cautious. His contribution is a marked contrast to the uncritical and biased histories of religious groups and nationalities in America. In particular, Mr. Anders' work is a contribution to the history of Swedish immigration, and a valuable addition to the history of Minnesota.

The reviewer wishes that the author had elaborated certain points and feels that much would have been gained had he told all he knew, but this, of course, was impossible in an abbreviated version of the story. Mr. Anders deals with "explosives" so tactfully that the most sincere hero-worshipper could not be offended. Nevertheless, the wisdom of almost completely ignoring the importance of the Swedish-American press might be questioned. Certainly, *Den svenska republikanen* should have provided a great deal of material on the history of the Methodists, Baptists, and Episcopalians. *Frihetswännan* should offer valuable information on the history of the Baptists, and *Zions baner* on the history of the Mission Friends. These two papers were the first mouthpieces of these two groups. More might have been said about *Sändebudet*, the paper of the

Methodists; and about *Minnesota posten*, the first Swedish newspaper published in Minnesota, *Missionären*, *Luthersk kyrkotidning*, *Skaffaren*, and a number of other papers. More extensive footnotes would also have been instructive to the reader. These are needed particularly for letters not published in *Tidskrift* for 1899 or elsewhere, as the book is not provided with a bibliography. The historical accuracy of the statement on page 59, quoted at length from the *Yearbook* of the Swedish Historical Society of America, might be questioned. An important fact omitted is that without the financial support of *Evangeliska fosterlands stiftelsen* and Gustav Adolf *stiftelsen* in Sweden, it would have been seemingly impossible for the Swedish Lutherans to compete successfully with other religious organizations in Minnesota, especially during the fifties and early sixties.

O. FRITIOF ANDER

AUGUSTANA COLLEGE  
ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Since the superintendent's report, published elsewhere in this number of the magazine, surveys the activities of the society in 1932, including the last quarter of the year, only a few supplementary items are mentioned in the present section.

MINNESOTA HISTORY is one of several western historical quarterlies listed by the writer of an article on "American Quarterlies" in the *Review of Reviews and World's Work* for December. MINNESOTA HISTORY, the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* are characterized as "able and important" periodicals.

Twenty-three additions to the active membership of the society have been made since October 1, 1932. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

HENNEPIN: Sylvia Bottineau, Earl R. Coppage, Mrs. Susanna P. Hamilton, Henry S. Jerabek, Henry R. Prescott, Mrs. David L. Sutherland, Mrs. Ell Torrance, Herbert Tout, and Mrs. Cyrus W. Wells, all of Minneapolis.

ISANTI: Robert B. Gillespie of Cambridge.

LYON: Mrs. Marvin E. Matthews of Marshall.

RAMSEY: Russell M. Berthel, E. T. Dahlin, Dr. George C. Dittman, Norman Fetter, Leone I. Ingram, George G. Lyberg, George A. Pond, Dr. John L. Rothrock, and Mrs. Harry B. Zimmermann, all of St. Paul.

RICE: Clarence A. Clausen of Northfield.

WASECA: Constance A. Everett of Waseca.

NONRESIDENT: J. Allen Anders of Lindsburg, Kansas.

The society has lost twelve active members by death during the three months ending December 30, 1932: Albert E. Webster of Dresbach, October 18; General Charles H. Whipple of Los Angeles, November 6; Dr. Sheridan G. Cobb of St. Paul, November 18; Cuyler Adams of Deerwood, November 29; William H. Fobes of St. Paul, November 30; William C. Edgar of Marine, December 2; Albert C. Loring of Minneapolis, December 11; F. A. Duxbury of

Caledonia, December 12; John U. Sebenius of Duluth, December 18; Frederick E. Kenaston of San Marino, California, December 20; Chauncy C. McCarthy of Grand Rapids, December 20; and George H. Partridge of Minneapolis, December 21. The death of Marvin E. Matthews of St. Paul on March 3, 1932, and of Laura S. Laumann of St. Peter on March 27 of the same year have not previously been noted in the magazine.

For her service in assembling the names of the 133 French soldiers who fell during the siege of Yorktown in 1781, Mrs. James T. Morris of Minneapolis, a member of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, has been designated a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by the French government. Mrs. Morris received the decoration at Paris on October 19, when a commemorative tablet recording the names of the Frenchmen who fell at Yorktown was "formally presented to the city of Paris and to the French people" by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The superintendent presented addresses on "Pioneers of Culture" in connection with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the St. Paul Public Library on October 3; on "Glimpsing Minnesota's Past through Contemporary Eyes" at the Mankato State Teachers College on October 25; on "Pioneers Who Laid the Foundations of Minnesota" before the St. Paul Retail Credit Association on November 18; and on "Introducing Minnesota History" before members of the Grafil Club of Minneapolis on December 15. Miss Nute gave an illustrated talk on pioneer life in Minnesota Territory before members of the Merriam Park Study Club of St. Paul on November 2, and she presented a radio talk on Minnesota pioneer women in connection with a program broadcast by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution over Station WCCO on November 25. Mr. Babcock presented an "Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" at the South St. Paul High School on October 21; he described the work of the society before a group of teachers who met in St. Paul on October 26; and he gave a talk on "Highways and History" in connection with the dedication of a highway marker at the Mayo home in Le Sueur on November 23. Mr. Van Koughnet spoke on the society's summer tour and convention on October 15 before members of the North Star chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Minneapolis.

Mr. Babcock's article on "Highways and History," which appears *ante*, 13:377-384, is published in an abbreviated form under the title "History Reminders for Tourists" in the *United States Daily* of Washington for November 17.

#### ACCESSIONS

A photostatic copy of Radisson's narrative of his first few years among the Indians, the original of which is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, has been made for the society through the courtesy of Mr. Louis Hill of St. Paul from a photostatic copy in his possession. Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis has presented photostatic copies of two documents in the British Museum relating to Radisson's trips of 1682-83 and 1684. The first is a contemporary translation of a narrative written by Radisson in French, which is preserved in the Hudson Bay House in London.

A letter written by Robert Dickson from his post on the St. Peter's River in 1820, and another written by Bishop Frederic Baraga from L'Arbre Croche in 1832 have been copied for the society by the photostatic process from the originals among the John Lawe Papers in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society. Another item in these papers that has been photostated is a memorandum of the terms of an agreement proposed in 1818 by William B. Coltman and of Lord Selkirk's reply, regarding the dispute between the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies.

A letter written by Dr. Edward Purcell, the post surgeon at Fort Snelling, on February 19, 1824, to George Johnston, the fur-trader, has been photostated from the original among the latter's papers in the Carnegie Public Library at Sault Ste. Marie. A letter in the same collection from Ramsay Crooks to John Johnston, dated January 11, 1819, also has been copied.

Trading posts and traders, the affairs of John Jacob Astor and the American Fur Company, and the treaties of Prairie du Chien in 1825 and Fond du Lac in 1826 are among the subjects touched upon on calendar cards recently received from Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the archival agent in Washington for a group of historical agencies, who has been working among the archives of the bureau of Indian affairs and the war department for the period from 1816 to 1845.

References to such interesting characters in the history of the Northwest as Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian agent at Fort Snelling; George Johnston, sub-agent at La Pointe; and Eben Weld, a government farmer at Kaposia, also occur on the cards.

A photostatic copy of an article entitled "A Prairie on Fire," which was written at Lake Traverse in 1836 by "J. H. B.," a traveler returning from the Far West, and published in the *Chicago American* for May 20, 1837, has been made for the society through the courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

A letter dated October 11, 1848, in which Franklin Steele asks Ard Godfrey to enter his employ at the Falls of St. Anthony, has been presented by Mr. Edward S. Stebbins of Minneapolis, through the courtesy of Mr. Edward C. Gale.

Five letters written from Stillwater and Taylor's Falls in 1851 and 1852 by Archibald M. McKellar, a pioneer Scotch settler in Minnesota, are included in an interesting collection of family papers for the years from 1830 to 1897 recently received from his son, Mr. Peter D. McKellar of Jackson. The letters reveal that the writer was unable to obtain employment in a Minnesota lumber camp and that he worked for the St. Croix Boom Company and as a blacksmith at Taylor's Falls. The collection includes eleven letters of Archibald's father, Peter McKellar, who settled on a farm in Clayton County, Iowa, and who gives much valuable information about frontier farming.

Seven accounts of visits in the fifties to St. Paul, St. Anthony, Shakopee, and the head of Lake Superior, and six reports written by members of the railroad excursion of 1854 are among clippings from the *New York Daily Times* and the *New York Tribune* for the years from 1853 to 1855, recently acquired through Mr. Edwin H. Frost of Yonkers, New York. There are also a number of items relating to mines and transportation along the south shore of Lake Superior. An article entitled "The North-west in '36," which has been clipped from the *United States Magazine of Science, Art, Manufactures, Agriculture, Commerce and Trade* for July, 1854, also has been obtained from Mr. Frost. It includes the diary of a member of a party of carpenters who traveled down the Mississippi aboard

a flatboat from Cassville, Wisconsin, to Rock Island and thence overland to Albany, New York.

Six architectural drawings made by Benjamin Densmore in 1854 for his father's residence, which was built at Red Wing in 1856, have been added to the Densmore Papers by his daughter, Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing (see *ante*, 3:167).

Several interesting and detailed descriptions of steamboat trips up the Mississippi and of visits to St. Anthony, St. Paul, Stillwater, and Red Wing, which appear in issues of the *New York Evangelist* for 1855 and 1856, have been copied for the society from a file of that periodical in the Congregational Library in Boston.

Eleven bills for goods shipped to L. D. Newell at Prescott, Wisconsin, by Mississippi River steamboats in 1857 and 1858 have been presented by Mrs. Myrtle Meacham of Los Angeles, through the courtesy of Mrs. Edward Neeley of Prescott. A number of similar bills were received by the society in 1931 (see *ante*, 12:319).

Deeds to land in Ramsey and Goodhue counties, tax bills and receipts, and fire insurance policies make up the bulk of a filing box of papers of John F. and Benjamin F. Hoyt of St. Paul for the years from 1855 to 1886 which has been received from the St. Paul city water department.

Correspondence of the late fifties about a mill at Glencoe, politics, and the railroad bond question is included in twenty-five items from the papers of Judge Luther L. Baxter of Fergus Falls, received from his daughter, Miss Bertha Baxter of Minneapolis (see *ante*, 13:197).

A copy of a drama depicting the organization of the Chatfield Presbyterian Church on June 21, 1857, is the gift of the author, Mr. George A. Haven of Chatfield. It was presented on June 19, 1932, in connection with the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the church (see *ante*, 13:342).

A little volume containing the records for the years from 1858 to 1874 of a school district at Lexington in Le Sueur County has been presented by Mr. Scott N. Swisher of Le Center. Minutes of meetings, lists of children of school age, and expense accounts are included.

Transcripts of eighteen letters written between 1858 and 1930 by German immigrants in Minnesota to relatives abroad have been

obtained through the courtesy of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. They were written from such places as Stillwater, Faribault, Henderson, St. Martin, Young America, and Wadena; and they contain interesting information from the immigrant's point of view about such subjects as prices of commodities, crops, wages, and ways of making money. The originals of these letters are in private hands in Germany; they were copied by a student at the University of Bonn.

A sermon by the Reverend Gideon Pond, the missionary, dated August 3, 1861, appears in the November issue of a mimeographed leaflet issued by the Oak Grove Presbyterian Church near Bloomington under the title of the "Oak Grove Outlook." A copy of this number has been presented by Miss Marian Moir of Bloomington.

About thirty items from the papers of Pennock Pusey, a private secretary to former Governor John S. Pillsbury, have been presented by Dr. John M. Armstrong of St. Paul. They include deeds to Minnesota land obtained in 1856 by military bounty warrants; and letters, dating from 1869 to 1883, written by Pillsbury, Andrew R. McGill, Senator Samuel J. R. McMillan, and others, about such subjects as the register for Minnesotans at the Philadelphia centennial exhibition, the defeat of Senator William Windom, political appointments, and real estate prices in St. Paul.

Recommendations and commissions issued between 1864 and 1918 to Lauritz M. Lange for various military and legal positions, including those of county attorney and judge of probate in Nobles and Cass counties; and some papers of his father-in-law, Harlow B. Comstock, of Canandaigua, New York, dating from the seventies and eighties, have been presented by Lange's daughter-in-law, Mrs. Sarah Lange of Seattle.

Charles C. Trowbridge's account of his experiences in South Carolina as lieutenant colonel of a regiment of colored troops under the Freedman's Bureau in 1865 and his appointment to the position have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Charles Speedy of Excelsior.

A record book of meetings of the faculty of Seabury Divinity School at Faribault covering the years from 1866 to 1878, four volumes of minutes of meetings of various groups of Episcopal clergy-

men in Minnesota from 1886 to 1914, and two similar volumes for the Sunday School Association of the Minnesota diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church from 1889 to 1920 have been added by the diocese to its archives already in the custody of the society (see *ante*, 13:427).

Lumbering activities in Minnesota, the acquisition of pine lands and dam sites by means of half-breed scrip, and relations between the railroads and the Minneapolis mills are among the subjects touched upon in a group of letters written in 1869 by William D. Washburn to his brother Cadwallader C., photostats of which have been made for the society from the Cadwallader C. Washburn Papers in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. In one letter, dated June 2, 1869, Washburn expresses himself as being "a good deal worried at the shape Railroad matters are taking. Our St. Paul friends," he continues, "are doing everything in their power to centralize all the railroad interests of the state there. The managing men of the St Paul and Pacific all reside there: the Minnesota Valley is run with no other view, than to conserve the interests of St Paul, while the Milwaukee yields rather to the pressure." Photostatic copies of a number of items of Minnesota interest in other collections owned by the Wisconsin society also have been received. These include two letters written in 1871 and 1873 by Joseph Knight from Rock County, in which he describes the region and his farming operations there; a letter to the governor of Wisconsin from Cushman K. Davis, dated May 2, 1861, in which he asks for a position in the military organization of the state; and an account of a trip to Minnesota by wagon and ox team, written from Cannon River in 1854 by J. A. Stewart.

Frank B. Mayer, the artist whose Minnesota diary was published recently by the society, describes his plans for a painting of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, which he witnessed in 1851, in two letters written in 1869 to Governor Ramsey and recently presented to the society by the latter's daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Furness of St. Paul. A photostat of a draft for one of the letters had been obtained earlier through members of Mayer's family (see *ante*, 13:196).

"Changes in the Content and Presentation of Reading Material in Minnesota Weekly Newspapers, 1860-1929" is the title of a doc-

toral dissertation submitted at the University of Minnesota in 1931 by Irene Barnes Taeuber, a copy of which she has presented to the society. Mrs. Taeuber based her study upon a measurement of newspapers in the society's collection. She has treated certain phases of the subject in articles published in the *Journalism Quarterly* and in the *Publications of the American Sociological Society* (see *ante*, 13:211, 442).

A petition for special privileges on the part of a group of Russian Mennonites who intended to settle in Minnesota and Dakota is the subject of four items of correspondence dated in 1873 between President Grant and Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, transcripts of which have been made from the Fish Papers in the possession of Columbia University and presented by Mr. Carlton C. Qualey.

The moving of city and county archives from the old to the new courthouse in St. Paul has resulted in the transfer of a considerable body of noncurrent archives to the custody of the society. Most of them are records of the Ramsey County auditor, but some are papers of the St. Paul police and water departments. Some of these archives have been stored in garret rooms for years and hark back to territorial days. Poll lists, tax records, contracts for public works, and diagrams of city blocks and streets are especially valuable.

A mass of genealogical data about the Dodge family in America and the correspondence carried on by Louis L. Dodge of Minneapolis between 1890 and 1927 while gathering this material have been presented by Mrs. Dodge. The gift includes two items relating to a company of New York infantry which volunteered for service in the War of 1812—a muster roll and a list of signatures of the members of the company.

A copy of the autobiography of Judge Henry J. Grannis of Duluth, who has been judge of the eleventh judicial district since 1923, is the gift of the author. In 1890 Judge Grannis settled in Duluth, "which was then booming and heralded as a second Chicago." He went there at the instigation of F. A. Bean, who planned to manage a flour mill near that city in Wisconsin and who promised to turn over the legal aspects of his business to the young lawyer. The real estate boom collapsed late in the fall of the same year, and the writer states that during the subsequent business depression "law practice

was up hill work for even many experienced and established attorneys in Duluth" and that he found consolation only in the fact that many others were in a similar situation and living expenses were low.

Two volumes of the minutes of meetings of the St. Paulus Evangelical Lutheran Church of South St. Paul from 1892 to 1930 have been presented to the society by that church. The minutes for the period from 1892 to 1926 are in German.

Six letter books kept by Christopher C. Andrews while he was serving as secretary of the Minnesota forestry board from 1899 to 1913 and as chief fire warden and forest commissioner between 1904 and 1912 are included in a mass of archives recently received from the Minnesota department of forestry and fire prevention. Among these archives also are the journals kept at the Itasca State Park Forest Experimental Station from 1911 to 1921 inclusive, and about forty filing boxes of daily reports and diaries kept by forest rangers throughout the state between 1911 and 1927.

A substantial addition to the papers of Hiram D. Frankel, for many years a St. Paul attorney (see *ante*, 12:193), consists of four filing boxes of personal correspondence for the years from 1921 to 1930, which have been presented by his son, Mr. Hiram D. Frankel, Jr., of Winnetka, Illinois. Material relating to the Minnesota National Guard and to the Independent Order of B'nai Brith is included in the gift. Mr. Frankel also has presented about a hundred pamphlets relating to the World War.

About fifty letters and other items relating to the genealogy of the Lavocat family in America have been presented by Miss Matilda V. Baillif of Minneapolis, who collected them while preparing a volume on *The Lavocat Family in America from 1845 to 1929* (see *ante*, 11:110). The material includes the World War service records of the descendants of Nicolas Joseph Lavocat, who came from France and settled at Stillwater in 1845.

Biographical sketches of two founders of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Helen M. Evans and Mrs. Margaret Evans Huntington, have been added to the papers of that organization (see *ante*, 11:97) by Mrs. Charles N. Akers of St. Paul and Miss Maude Stewart of Northfield.

Typewritten and printed copies of minutes of the annual conventions from 1930 to 1932 of the Minnesota district of the Walther League, a young people's organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other states, have been received from the secretary, Miss Erna Jahnke of Austin.

The Minnesota department of the American Legion has presented the registration cards of its state conventions held at Rochester and Bemidji in 1931 and 1932, of the spring conferences held at Minneapolis in 1930 and 1932, and of the convention of its auxiliary at Rochester in 1931 (see *ante*, 12:430).

A folder of correspondence and minutes of meetings of the committee appointed by former Mayor Gerhard Bundlie of St. Paul to take charge of the celebration in that city of the George Washington Bicentennial has been received through the courtesy of Mayor William Mahoney.

A file of *Folkebladet*, a Norwegian newspaper published at Minneapolis, covering the period from June 29, 1887, to December 27, 1893, and bound in six volumes, is the gift of the Reverend A. M. Arntzen of Lake Lillian. He has also presented a number of unbound issues of this paper for the years 1894 and 1908 to 1911.

A copy of the *Selbstbiographie, Gedichte, Predigten und Vorträge* of the Reverend A. Van der Lippe, edited by the late Charles Bremicker of St. Paul and published at Cleveland in 1894, is the gift of Mr. Paul B. Bremicker of Minneapolis. The volume contains the writings of a Prussian immigrant of 1851 who served for twenty-six years as a Presbyterian minister in St. Louis.

The scenic beauties of America, especially of the West and the Middle West, are described by Hermann H. Zagel in a volume entitled *Reisebilder aus den Vereinigten Staaten* (St. Louis, 1907), which has been presented by the Reverend R. C. Ackermann of South St. Paul. The sketches published herein appeared originally in a periodical known as *Abendschule*.

A model of a Sioux tepee, made about 1907 by a Winnebago-Sioux woman, is the gift of Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing. Mrs. James T. Morris of Minneapolis has presented three small, finely woven grass baskets of Blackfoot workmanship.

A gigantic tin dinner horn, five feet in length, that was used in a lumber camp of the Virginia and Rainy Lake Company is the gift of Mr. D. A. Mitchell of Mountain Iron. Through the courtesy of Mr. Mitchell, the society has received from Mr. John E. Hanson and Mr. William H. Fliehr of Virginia a collection of forty-four pictures of the operations of the same lumber company. Two large panoramic views of its pond and mill at Virginia are included.

Joseph Rolette, Pierre Bottineau, Father Hennepin, and Harriet Bishop are among those represented in a group of thirteen figures dressed to represent characters in the history of Minnesota, which has been presented by the auxiliary of the Minnesota department of the American Legion, through the courtesy of Mrs. C. O. Bemies of Minneapolis. The figures were designed and dressed by members of various units of the auxiliary and entered in a state contest.

A wrist watch, campaign hat, uniform cap, collar ornaments, identification bracelet, and other articles that belonged to Major Harold M. Clark of the United States army air service before his death in 1919 have been presented by his mother, Mrs. Charles A. Clark of Shreveport, Louisiana. Photographs of her son and of her husband, who was a lieutenant in the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Spanish-American War, are included in the gift.

An evening gown of 1914 and two gentleman's hats dating from 1910 have been presented by Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing.

A revolving fan that operates by clockwork, which dates from 1876, is the gift of Mrs. Rush B. Wheeler of St. Paul. Other additions to the domestic life collection include a large iron kettle, a pair of scales, and knives and forks that are said to have been used in the pioneer St. Paul fur-trading store of Marcel Gagnon, presented by Mr. Theodore Martineau of St. Paul; a rolling-pin made by hand about 1850, from Mrs. Virginia Plante of St. Paul; and a large framed hair wreath, from Mrs. C. Fries of St. Paul.

Recent additions to the furniture collection include a chest made in 1832 and a wooden rocking chair, presented by Mrs. Bessye Mates of St. Paul; a center table and two rocking chairs, from Mrs. C. Oakes of St. Paul; and a French china cabinet, two side tables, and

a number of pieces of living room furniture, from Mrs. David W. Gray of St. Paul.

Photographic reproductions have been made for the society of thirty-one water-color paintings by Frank B. Mayer, the originals of which were borrowed from Goucher College, Baltimore (see *ante*, 13:408-414).

St. Paul and its vicinity in the nineties are pictured in a collection of twenty-seven negatives presented by Mr. Walter M. Thurston of St. Paul. Nineteen small photographs of early Minnesota scenes have been received from Miss Camelia Koons, through the courtesy of Miss Margaret Densmore of Red Wing.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

Two letters published in the first volume of *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick and brought out under the direction of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, are duplicates of items in the collection of Washington Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The first is a letter dated August 12, 1754, to Colonel James Innes, of which the society has a draft in Washington's handwriting; the second is a letter relating to the navigation of the Potomac. The latter seems to be based on notes that accompany a sketch map in the society's collection, but curiously the notes and the map are credited to another institution (p. 100).

A valuable bibliography of the *Mississippi River and Valley* has been published by the United States Engineer School at Humphreys, Virginia (1931. 116 p.). Among the headings under which the books and pamphlets listed are arranged are antiquities, discovery and exploration, history, description and travel, commerce, navigation, physical geography, and fiction. There is also a chronological list of articles published in periodicals between 1897 and 1930.

Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau-bun: The "Early Day" in the North-West* has been reprinted with an historical introduction by Milo M. Quaife as the 1932 Christmas volume issued by the Lakeside Press of Chicago. In a preface the publishers state that this work was chosen because "it seems appropriate for the year in which Chicago is to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of its incorporation as a village."

During the period of the Civil War, whenever "issues arose that involved real or supposed regional interests, however much the northern sections might mutually abhor and combine to thwart the pretensions of the planter, it was evident that East was East and West was West," writes Earle D. Ross in an article on "Northern Sectionalism in the Civil War Era," which appears in the October issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. Mr. Ross finds "New

England standards and prejudices . . . manifested most characteristically in the observations of Charles Francis Adams on his campaign tour in 1860," which took him to St. Paul. The writer draws upon these observations and upon those of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., both of which are published *ante*, 8: 157-171, for examples of the New England attitude toward the Middle West and its people during the war period. He quotes also from Seward's famous campaign speech at St. Paul in 1860.

A collection of drugs and plants used for medicinal purposes by the American Indians was assembled by Professor Earl B. Fischer and displayed in the Pharmacy Building of the University of Minnesota during the second week in October. Several items used in the exhibit were obtained from the Minnesota Historical Society.

In an article entitled "The Forty-ninth Parallel in the Great Plains: The Historical Geography of a Boundary," which appears in the *Journal of Geography* for December, Stephen B. Jones undertakes "to show how an astronomical line has been a good boundary, a bad boundary, and again a good one, as human occupancy of the Great Plains has passed thru successive stages." The writer contends that the forty-ninth parallel was a "bad boundary" during the period of trouble with the Plains Sioux on the American side of the line, and at the time when livestock ranching was developing in the region. Then, writes Mr. Jones, "there was so little cooperation between police officers on the two sides of the border that the Indians dubbed the Forty-ninth Parallel 'the medicine line,'" for "a fugitive from justice crossed the line and magically became a free man."

A study by Jim Dan Hill of "The Early Mining Camp in American Life" as a "social phenomenon" appears in the *Pacific Historical Review* for September. After examining the activities of the miners, the author concludes that they were for the most part merely adaptations in a new environment of practices in the fields of government, law, extra-legal control, and the like that were in vogue in the older parts of America. For example, he points out that "about the only difference between the vigilantes and the various anti-horse-thief societies of the agrarian frontier is the romantic title of Spanish coinage under which the former masqueraded." Mr. Hill believes "that the mining camp gave little to what we think of today as Americanism," but that "in its own bizarre way" it "reflected much."

Three Minnesota forts—Ridgely, Ripley, and St. Anthony—are among the "American Posts" listed by Edgar M. Ledyard in the October issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* (see *ante*, 13:107, 433). Mr. Ledyard locates Fort Ridgely on the Minnesota River "at Fairfax in Nicollet County." Fairfax is in Renville County some miles north of the river and the site of Fort Ridgely. The name of Fort St. Anthony was changed to Fort Snelling in 1825.

A detailed study of "Henry de Tonty," La Salle's trusted lieutenant and aide in his exploration of the Mississippi Valley, is contributed by Ethel Owen Merrill to the October issue of *Mid-America*.

Two "moderate shocks" in Minnesota are listed in an *Earthquake History of the United States Exclusive of the Pacific Region* by N. H. Heck, which has been issued by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey of the department of commerce as number 149 of its *Special Publications* (61 p.). Of the first Minnesota quake, which occurred in 1860, little is known; the second took place on September 3, 1917, and damaged the region around Brainerd and Staples.

The colonizing activities in Minnesota of James Shields and Archbishop John Ireland are briefly described in a volume dealing with *Catholic Charities in the United States: History and Problems* by John O'Grady (Washington, 1930. 475 p.). A section is devoted to the Minnesota Irish Immigration Society, the organization of which in 1866 is described as the "most important step" in a "new effort to bring the Irish back to the land." Other items of special Minnesota interest in the volume are an account of the founding of St. Joseph's Hospital in St. Paul by Bishop Cretin in the fifties, and a note about the Margaret Barry Settlement of Minneapolis.

A brief account and a picture of the Sibley House at Mendota, contributed by Mrs. Percy J. Lawrence of Minneapolis, are included in a volume devoted to *Old Homesteads and Historic Buildings* which has recently been issued by the Manhattan chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in New York City (235 p.). The pictures, most of which are of homes located in the Atlantic coast states, were collected for presentation to the department of historic architecture of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The volume was compiled by Lura Ballard Nordyke.

The Fort Necessity chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, which is located at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, has published in commemoration of the Washington bicentennial an interesting volume entitled *Fort Necessity and Historic Shrines of the Redstone Country* (1932. 144 p.). It consists of sketches by various authors of sites of historic interest in this region, with notes on monuments, markers, and buildings or ruins to be found on these sites. Special emphasis is placed upon Washington's associations with the district.

A brief account of the Norse-American Centennial celebration of 1925 is included in a volume entitled *Immigrant Gifts to American Life* by Allen H. Eaton, which was published recently by the Russell Sage Foundation (1932. 185 p.). The writer states erroneously that the celebration was held in Minneapolis when it actually took place at the state fair grounds in St. Paul. A Minnesota artist whose work is described in the volume is Pauline Fjelde of Minneapolis. An appreciative account of her tapestry of Hiawatha is presented, and a picture of the hanging is included.

Of great interest and value for the student of missionary activity in the Northwest is J. H. A. Lacher's study of "Nashotah House: Wisconsin's Oldest School of Higher Learning," which appears in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December. For Minnesotans this article must have a special significance, since it reveals that the famous Episcopal theological seminary was founded in 1842 chiefly as a result of the efforts of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck, later a missionary in Minnesota, and of Bishop Jackson Kemper, whose field of jurisdiction as the first Episcopal missionary bishop included the Minnesota country. Much biographical material about both men is included, and their letters and diaries are quoted extensively. With three other young Episcopal clergymen Breck went to Wisconsin in 1841 to found what he hoped "would develop into a real revival of the monastic life for men," and when in the following year the school was established on Nashotah Lakes, he became its first head. Missionary activity in the surrounding country was combined with the work at the school. Among the letters from Breck that are quoted in the article is one in which the young Easterner expresses himself as being somewhat shocked by the crowded conditions under which he found people living on the frontier. He tells that "We once slept eight in a room, and the tattling old woman

kept the Bishop awake a long time," but he seems to have believed that housing conditions would soon improve. "What is civilizing this land," he remarks, "is neither education nor Christianity, but the introduction of *saw-mills!*" Breck remained at Nashotah House until 1849, when he resigned to go to Minnesota. There, in addition to his missionary activities, he helped to establish the Seabury Divinity School. Excellent portraits of Kemper and Breck and a picture of Nashotah House in 1850 accompany the article.

The complicated legal proceedings which resulted in the "unification of the lumber interests on the Chippewa and on the Mississippi" in the eighties under the Minnesota lumber magnate, Frederick Weyerhaeuser, are explained by his "trusted lawyer and confidential adviser," Roujet D. Marshall, in his recently published *Autobiography* (2 volumes. 1928, 1931). Judge Marshall describes his boyhood on a Wisconsin frontier farm and his career as a lawyer at Chippewa Falls in the first volume of this work; in the second he gives an account of his work as a justice of the supreme court of Wisconsin.

The *Distribution of the Aboriginal Population of Michigan*, especially in its relation to the food supply, is discussed by W. B. Hinsdale in a pamphlet published by the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan as number 2 of its *Occasional Contributions* (35 p.). Of general interest are accounts of the kinds of animal and vegetable food used by the Indians and the methods of preparing them.

The name of Samuel Medary, the last governor of Minnesota Territory, has been added to the Ohio Journalism Hall of Fame and his picture has been hung with portraits of eighteen other Ohio journalists who have been similarly honored in the Journalism Building of Ohio State University.

A plan for the *Correlation of Local, State, and National History* in Iowa, prepared by Erik M. Eriksson, has been published as number 12 of the *Aids for History Teachers* issued by the department of history of the University of Iowa and as number 243 of the university's *Extension Bulletins* (1930. 16 p.). The writer believes that it is feasible to "include local and state history in the American History course," to illustrate events and developments of general

significance with examples from the history of the pupil's immediate environment. A bibliography of books and articles on various phases of Iowa history is included in the pamphlet.

"A survey of the agricultural, industrial and natural resources of the state" of Iowa, made recently under the direction of Dean Anson Marston of the Iowa Engineering Experiment Station, has resulted in the publication by the state of *The Book of Iowa* (1932. 268 p.). It includes a general section dealing with government, population, public health, and climate; and sections on manufacturing, agriculture, natural resources, utilities, transportation, corporation laws and taxes, labor, banking and insurance, education, recreational facilities, and urban statistics.

With an account of "The Aftermath of the Spirit Lake Massacre," Professor F. I. Herriott continues his detailed discussion of the Indian massacre of 1857 in the *Annals of Iowa* for October (see *ante*, 13:335, 438).

The Black Hills region during the days of the gold rush is described by the Reverend George S. Pelton, a Congregational minister from Glyndon, in a number of letters that he wrote in 1880 and 1881 to the *Red River Valley News* of Glyndon, which have been reprinted with an introduction and notes by Arthur J. Larsen, head of the newspaper department in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society, in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for October. Pelton writes in a lively and entertaining fashion of his journey from the Minnesota railroad town to Deadwood, and he presents a vivid picture of life and conditions in the frontier mining community. "After one week's experience in this city I have not yet ceased to wonder," he writes. "All times of the day, Sundays and all, business is red-hot. . . . There are over 50 lawyers, about 12 physicians, and how many other professional men I know not; and they are all doing well, if their own words are to be believed. Saloons are a legion, I could not count them." Another contributor to this issue of the *Quarterly* is Mr. Merle Potter of the *Minneapolis Journal*, who presents an interesting review of the "North Dakota Capital Fight." He tells of the plans and manipulations, in which James J. Hill and his railroad played a part, which resulted in 1883 in the location of the statehouse at Bismarck. "Official Immigration Activities of Da-

kota Territory" is the subject of an article by Herbert S. Schell, which also appears in the October *Quarterly*.

*North Dakota Literary Trails* are illustrated and located on a map of the state made under the direction of Hazel W. Byrnes and published by the State Teachers College at Mayville (1932). It is accompanied by a bibliography of authors and titles referred to on the map.

That such dramatic classics as *Richard III*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, and *The School for Scandal* were produced in St. Louis before 1820 is revealed in a volume entitled *The Theatre on the Frontier: The Early Years of the St. Louis Stage* by William G. B. Carson (Chicago, 1932. 361 p.). This interesting contribution to the social and cultural history of the Middle West includes as an appendix a "Record of Performances of Individual Plays" in the Missouri city from 1815 to 1839.

The immigration of a group of Mennonites in 1876 and the settlement that they established in Kansas are described by C. C. Regier, a descendent of a member of the colony, in an article entitled "An Immigrant Family of 1876," which appears in *Social Science* for July. The detailed account presented by Mr. Regier of the German and Russian backgrounds of the colony and of the crossing of the Atlantic by its members is of interest in Minnesota as well as in Kansas, since at Pittsburgh the company divided and the larger group went to Mountain Lake, Minnesota.

*An Historical Guide to Colorado: A Pilgrimage over the Outstanding Sites and Landmarks* by Lillian R. Brigham has been published by the Colorado society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (1931. 140 p.). It includes lists of historic sites and markers, and brief descriptions of the important events connected with the past of each locality.

John McLean's *Notes of a Twenty-five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, which was first published at London in 1849, has been supplied with a "Biographical Introduction" and annotations by W. S. Wallace and reprinted by the Champlain Society as number 19 of its *Publications* (Toronto, 1932. xxxvi, 402, xii p.). For Minnesotans the chief interest of the narrative lies in its "Sketch

of Red River Settlement." Here McLean uses his first-hand knowledge of the Canadian frontier, where he lived from 1820 to 1845, to outline the history of the settlement and also to picture the inhabitants and their mode of living. He was aware of the fertility of the Red River Valley, for he remarks that "If a sure market were secured to the colonists of Red River, they would speedily become the wealthiest yeomanry in the world. Their barns and granaries are always full to overflowing; so abundant are the crops, that many of the farmers could subsist for a period of two or even three years, without putting a grain of seed in the ground." McLean devotes another chapter to the activities of his father-in-law, the Reverend James Evans, who was engaged as a Wesleyan missionary among the Indians of the Great Lakes region. Further light is thrown on Evans' career by the publication in volume 28 of the *Papers and Records* of the Ontario Historical Society (1932) of ten letters written by the missionary in 1838 and 1839, which have been edited by Fred Landon. These relate to Evans' missionary journeys on and about Lake Superior.

Three of the "six plays for the microphone from the romance of Canada series of radio broadcasts" included in a volume entitled *Henry Hudson and Other Plays* by Merrill Denison deal with characters and incidents in the history of the Northwest (Toronto, 1931. 183 p.). The first, "Pierre Radisson," pictures the explorer at the court of Charles II recounting his adventures in the New World; another tells the story of Seven Oaks and the struggle of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies for supremacy in the Red River country; the third deals with Alexander Mackenzie and his overland journey to the Pacific. The plays were prepared for the Canadian National Railways and were broadcast from Montreal during the winter and spring of 1931.

#### GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Minnesota's admission to the Union will be celebrated on May 11.

A valuable and interesting *History of Minneopa State Park* by Judge Thomas Hughes of Mankato has been published in pamphlet form by the division of forestry of the Minnesota department of conservation (1932. 30 p.). It includes an explanation of the name,

an account of Le Sueur's explorations in the vicinity of the park and of his search for copper ore, some material about the Indians of the region, a description of the Sioux-Chippewa battle of 1860, and accounts of the earliest settlers along Minneopa Creek. The story of the "Creation of the Park" in 1906 also is related, and some information about its administration and improvement is presented. A sketch of the history of the "Seppman Old Stone Windmill of South Bend," which stands on a tract that was added to Minneopa Park in 1931, is included in the pamphlet.

Some of the history of the area around Sandy Lake and the old Savanna Portage is recounted in a feature article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 18 by Rolf Mills, who calls attention to the proposal of the Minnesota department of conservation that this region be set aside as a state forest. The writer mentions some of the explorers who used the well-known Savanna Portage route between Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi and who left descriptions of the country through which they passed, and he calls special attention to the Schoolcraft expedition of 1832. He also tells of the retracing of the portage route in the summer of 1926 by Professor Irving H. Hart and Mr. William P. Ingersoll and describes the more recent survey of the region by members of the department of conservation. Among the illustrations that appear with the article are a view on the West Savanna River and a map of the proposed state forest.

An interview with Mr. E. J. Pond of Shakopee, in which he presents his recollections of the battle of Shakopee, fought between the Sioux and the Chippewa in 1858, appears in the *Southern Minnesotan* for October. In the same issue is an account of an example of frontier justice at Lexington in Le Sueur County in 1858, when a mob lynched C. J. Reinhardt for the supposed murder of a man named Bordell.

Some interesting impressions of modern Minnesota by a German novelist, Heinrich Hauser, are included in a book about travel in America entitled *Feldwege nach Chicago* (Berlin, 1931. 268 p.). The writer traveled in a Ford automobile from La Crosse to Minneapolis, thence to Lake Itasca, and back to the Mill City by way of Brainerd and Mille Lacs. Like many earlier travelers in the Min-

nesota country, Herr Hauser compares the scenery of the upper Mississippi to that of the Rhine.

A *Geologic Map of the State of Minnesota* has been issued by the Minnesota Geological Survey under the direction of W. H. Emmons (1932). On this single large-scale map, rock formations throughout the state are shown.

A map of Minnesota on which the events described in Mr. Merle Potter's *101 Best Stories of Minnesota* are graphically illustrated in color appears in the magazine section of the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 20. Copies of the map are on sale in Twin City book stores for seventy-five cents apiece.

The programs presented in the various St. Paul cemeteries in commemoration of Memorial Day in 1932 are outlined in a booklet issued by the Memorial Day Association of St. Paul under the title of *Heroes All!* (60 p.). A valuable feature of this publication is a list of veterans of the wars in which the United States has participated who are buried in St. Paul, at Fort Snelling, and at Acacia Park. The arrangement is by cemeteries, the names are listed in alphabetical order, and in the case of Civil War veterans the company and regiment in which the individual served are named.

A reproduction of a little-known portrait by Tom Woodburn of Alexander Ramsey appears on the cover of the *Recruiting News* for December 15. The magazine contains a brief sketch of Ramsey's career, in which special attention is called to his service as secretary of war under President Hayes.

The history and policies of the Mayo Clinic and its relation to the Mayo Foundation of the University of Minnesota were covered in an address by Dr. William J. Mayo, which was delivered before a meeting of the faculty of the clinic at Rochester on November 21.

The Dowling School for crippled children in St. Paul is included in a list of memorials to men and women of Irish birth and descent in the United States, which appears with an article entitled "Towers of Silence Speak" by James H. McCann in volume 30 of the *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society* (1932). A brief sketch of Michael J. Dowling accompanies the mention of the school.

The long and interesting career of William C. Edgar as business manager and editor of the *Northwestern Miller* is reviewed in that magazine for December 7, the first issue published after the death of the editor on December 2. Some of his other activities, such as those connected with the editing of the *Bellman* and with the organization of the Millers' Belgian Relief movement in 1914, also are described.

#### LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The naming of the Rum River is discussed by Irving A. Caswell in the *Anoka Union* for December 29. He writes:

Early maps of this territory label the stream "Iskootawaboo." A literal translation of the words which form the compound . . . is said to be "warm water."

The Chippewa language had comparatively few words. To members of this tribe, all liquids were "waboo"—water. Whatever gave the senses the impression of warmth or heat was "iskoota."

Ardent spirits (whiskey and rum) furnished these simple folk by the white traders were "hot" to their taste. Therefore rum or whiskey was "iskoota-waboo"—a hot liquid.

The writer suggests that in naming the river the Indians probably had reference to the fact that the waters of this shallow stream, which ran through open country, were warm by comparison with those of larger rivers in wooded areas. Traders, however, in translating the name, thought only of its second meaning, and called the stream "Rum River." Dr. Warren Upham, discussing the name of this stream in his *Minnesota Geographic Names* (p. 348), states that "it was indirectly derived from the Sioux," whose name for Mille Lacs, "Mde Wakan, translated Spirit Lake," was applied to the river, but "changed by the white men to the most common spirituous liquor brought into the Northwest, rum." Nicollet's map of 1843, Dr. Upham continues, "has 'Iskode Wabo or Rum R.' this name given by the Ojibways, but derived by them from the white men's perversion of the ancient Sioux name Wakan, being in more exact translation 'Fire Water.'"

The history of Edwardsville, a stagecoach station that flourished in the late seventies on the road between Ortonville and Browns Valley, is briefly outlined in the *Ortonville Independent* for October 27. The station, according to this account, was established by John P. Edwards, whose homestead included the site.

As a result of plans made during the Moorhead session of the state historical convention on July 15, the Clay County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held at Moorhead on October 8. Senator G. D. McCubrey of Moorhead was elected president of the new organization, Mr. R. E. Duddles of Ulen was named vice president, and Mrs. S. E. Rice of Barnesville, secretary. Sixteen corresponding secretaries, who will represent the society in various sections of the county, gather historical material, and enlist new members, were elected at a meeting held on November 16.

Changes in the harbor and the shore line of Lake Superior at Grand Marais since the early eighties are briefly described in an article in the *Cook County News-Herald* for October 6. It includes an account of the building of the piers in the harbor from native timber and notes that these are now being replaced by concrete structures.

Senator O. J. Finstad was the principal speaker at a joint meeting of the Cottonwood County Historical Society and the local old settlers' association, which was held at Windom on October 21. A paper on the history of Windom was read by Mrs. Mae Scarborough. Members of the historical society elected the following officers: Mr. H. E. Hanson, president; Mr. Isaac Bargen, vice president; and Mrs. George Warren, secretary. After the meeting, members of the two associations visited the museum which has been arranged by the historical society in a room of the Windom High School.

An excellent picture of life and conditions on a Fillmore County farm in the sixties is presented by Carroll K. Michener in a pamphlet entitled *The Lives and Times of Daniel Kinsey Michener and Ida Lena (Blakeslee) Michener* (Minneapolis, 1932. 51 p.). The writer points out that there was in the "span of living" of the subjects of her narrative "all of the usual contrast that marks the beginning and end of pioneering." The farm that supplies the setting for the sketch was acquired in 1857 by John L. Michener, who emigrated with his family from Indiana.

In connection with the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the First Lutheran Church of Newburg on October 2, a monument "erected to the memory of the early pioneers" was dedicated. Pictures of the church building erected by the congregation in 1864 and of the present structure, a brief history of the church, and a list of pioneer members appear in the *Mabel Record* for October 7.

At the annual meeting of the Goodhue County Historical Society, held at Red Wing on December 5, all officers of the society were reelected (see *ante*, 13:118). Mr. Emil C. Pearson presented a paper on early days in Vasa, and some reminiscences of C. W. and J. B. Melander of Red Wing in the fifties were read by Miss Rosalie Youngdahl.

At the annual meeting of the Jackson County Historical Society, held at Jackson on October 7, Mr. Porter W. Ashley of Lakefield was elected president; Mrs. T. J. Knox of Jackson, vice president; Mr. J. S. Fiddes of Jackson, secretary; and Mrs. Mabelle E. Burnham of Jackson, treasurer. The annual report of the society, presented at this meeting, shows that the organization has obtained the use of a room in the courthouse, that this room has been equipped with a wall case, that Mrs. Knox has presented the society with a file of the *Jackson Republic* for the years from 1872 to 1897, and that every newspaper in the county is now setting aside a file of its current issues for the local society.

Under the direction of Mr. Melvin S. Wroolie, superintendent of schools in Lac qui Parle County, an experiment in the collecting and recording of "pioneer stories" by pupils in the rural schools of the county is being made. The children have been instructed to interview pioneers and to write essays of not more than a thousand words about what they learn. Among the topics suggested are early buildings, pioneer life in a given township, the story of an early school or church, pioneer industries, and life in a pioneer home. With an outline for the work, the pupils have been furnished with several "type stories" that may be used as models. The best essays prepared by eighth-grade pupils in each district will be sent to the office of the county superintendent, who hopes to preserve them in some permanent form.

Members of the congregation of St. Scholastica's Catholic Church of Heidelberg celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding on October 23. The parish was organized in 1857 by Benedictine brothers for German and Bohemian immigrants who were settling in this portion of Le Sueur County. A history of the parish appears in the *Montgomery Messenger* for October 21.

A history of the Hemnes Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in Lyon County was presented by the secretary of the congregation, Mr. Martin A. Teigland, in connection with the celebration of its sixtieth anniversary on October 9. His account, which is based on the church records, is published in part in the *Minneota Mascot* for October 14.

An interesting picture of the conditions under which pioneer children received their schooling is presented in a letter of Mr. Frank Buck of Greeley, Colorado, which appears in part in the *Glencoe Enterprise* for October 13. The writer, an early resident of Glencoe, describes the first three schools built in the community—a log structure of the fifties, a one-room frame building put up after the Sioux War, and Stevens Seminary, erected in the early seventies. The dedication of the seminary building, according to Mr. Buck, "was one of the greatest days in the history of Glencoe." He relates that "a dance was given in the upper room the proceeds of which were used to buy a bell which I suppose has been ringing through all the years since it first called us to school in the fall of 1870."

In a talk presented before Farm Bureau meetings in various parts of Morrison County during the early fall, Mr. V. E. Kasperek called attention to some events in the history of the county. The speaker used photographs of Indians and of industrial scenes to illustrate his talk. The text is published in the *Little Falls Herald* for September 30.

An entire section of the *St. Peter Herald* for October 7 is devoted to articles about the history of St. Peter's Catholic Church and parish, which celebrated on October 9 the seventy-sixth anniversary of their founding. A general history of the parish tells of the first Catholic services in St. Peter, conducted in 1854 by the Reverend Francis Vivaldi, a missionary to the Indians; of the organization of the parish in 1856 under Bishop Joseph Cretin; of the first resident priest, the Reverend John Zuzek, who arrived in 1865; and of the building of the various parish churches and schools. A long article is devoted to sketches of the priests who have served the parish; another describes the activities of Father Augustin Ravoux, especially emphasizing his visits to Traverse des Sioux. Histories of the church

societies, the choir, and the parochial school, which is known as John Ireland School, also are included in this issue of the *Herald*.

At the annual meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, which was held at Fergus Falls on October 18, Senator Elmer E. Adams gave an informal talk in which he pointed out the value of the files of early Otter Tail County newspapers in the collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. Reminiscent talks were given by the Reverend E. Berlie, who has served for more than forty years as a Lutheran pastor at Dalton; and by Mr. C. W. Kaddatz, a pioneer resident of Fergus Falls. Conditions among the Cass Lake Chippewa were described by the Reverend A. W. Rosness.

"It is well to look back once in a while over the road that has been traveled," reads an editorial in the *Thief River Falls Times* for October 6, "and draw from past experiences the knowledge necessary to a well ordered future course." The occasion for this comment on "The Past and the Future" was a "Pioneer Days Fete" held at Thief River Falls from October 12 to 15 in commemoration of the passing of forty years since the Great Northern Railroad was completed to that place. The celebration opened with a review of the past in the form of floats picturing the development of the community. October 14 was Pioneers Day, and this was marked by a meeting at the local auditorium with addresses by Mayor E. L. Tungseth on the pioneers of Thief River Falls and by Superintendent A. A. Dowell of the Northwest School of Agriculture on Red River Valley pioneers and history. A number of articles of local historical interest appear in the *Times* of October 6. These include an outline of the history of the city from 1879, when Frank Russell, the first white settler, camped on Squaw Point; a note on the origin of the name of Thief River; and some items from the initial number of the *Thief River Falls Press*, issued on August 17, 1889.

"I believe that the local historical collection should aim to supplement or parallel rather than rival that of the State Historical Society, and that the activities of the local societies should be so coordinated as to make distinct contributions to the state," said Mrs. Bessie G. Frost, librarian of Carleton College, Northfield, in an address on "The Historical Museum: Its Purpose and Content," presented before the annual meeting of the Rice County Historical

Society at Faribault on October 17. The speaker pointed out that the "Historical Museum should serve as a clearing house of historical material." Her address is published in full in the *Faribault Daily News* of October 27. At the same meeting, Mr. H. H. Kirk described "The Early Public Schools in Rice County."

Four churches of the "Morristown Methodist Larger Parish" conducted joint services in celebration of their seventy-fifth anniversaries from December 11 to 18. The histories of the churches, which are located at Morristown, Blooming Grove, and Warsaw, are reviewed in a series of three articles in the *Faribault Daily News* for December 22, 23, and 24.

Scenes and events from "Pioneer Days in Duluth" were dramatized in a series of six acts presented by students of the East Junior High School of Duluth for members of the St. Louis County Historical Society, who met in the auditorium of this school on December 14. The subjects depicted were the pioneer home and the mission school of Edmund F. Ely, 1835; "Naming Duluth," 1856; the first election, 1855; the Merritt home at Oneota, 1856; the McCormick home on Minnesota Point, 1869; and "Duluth Society in 1873." The dialogues were written by Ellen Boer, Winifred Wilbur, and Harriet Gregory, teachers in East Junior High School; and the various parts were played by students. Each scene was preceded by a brief explanatory introduction, and each was played in an appropriate setting. Some of the Chippewa music recorded by Miss Frances Densmore was presented in connection with the program. The St. Louis County society is to be congratulated upon the success of this program, which gave a group of young people an opportunity to use its resources and afforded entertainment and instruction for its members.

A history of the Czechs in Steele County, compiled by the late Frantisek Kovár of Owatonna, appears in the 1933 issue of a Czech almanac published at Chicago under the title *Amerikán národní kalendár*. The narrative is based upon the reminiscences of pioneers who settled in Steele County in the fifties.

The first Congregational and Presbyterian churches of Owatonna, which are now united under the title of the Associated Churches,

celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the two religious organizations on October 16. Histories of the Sunday school activities of the two denominations were presented by Miss Alice Jefferson and Mr. H. J. Jager, and histories of the churches were read by Mrs. Flora Moran and Mr. Paul H. Evans. The two latter papers are published in the *Owatonna Journal-Chronicle* for October 21.

A history of Trinity Lutheran Church of Long Prairie by its pastor, the Reverend E. T. Heyne, appears in the *Long Prairie Leader* for October 27. Members of the congregation celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the church on October 30.

A brief history of the First Baptist Church of Breckenridge, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary from November 9 to 13, appears in the *Gazette-Telegram* of Breckenridge for November 9. According to this account "the first religious service was held in Breckenridge in 1872, in a Great Northern railroad passenger coach under direction of Jonathan E. Petit, a Baptist," but "it was not until 1882 that a distinctly Baptist organization was formed."

The days when Winona County farmers took their wheat to local mills to be ground into flour are recalled in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for December 10 by Paul P. Thompson in an article entitled "Historic Pickwick Mill, Still Busy, Stands as Monument to Forgotten Millers of Early Days." The writer reviews the history of the picturesque mill near La Moille, which was built in 1854 by Thomson Grant and which is still used as a grist mill. Numerous other mills that were operated in Winona County between the fifties and the eighties are described more briefly. A picture of the Pickwick Mill appears with the article.

An interesting contribution to the history of fraternal organizations in Minnesota is made by Dr. E. Klaveness in a recently published pamphlet entitled *Sixty Years of Pythianism in St. Paul* (10 p.). The account was prepared as an address presented on July 20, 1932, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of St. Paul Lodge No. 2 of the Knights of Pythias. The first Pythian lodge in Minnesota was established at Minneapolis in 1870, six years after the order was founded.

